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OF ECONOMICS

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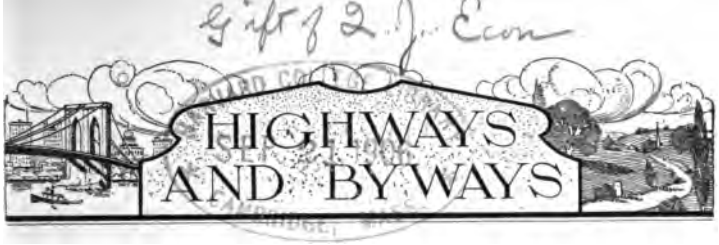
Sir Walter Raleigh Raising the Standard of Queen Elizabeth in Virginia



FOR some years thoughtful Englishmen have had under earnest consideration the question of alleged national deterioration, physical and moral. Certain thinkers assert that such deterioration is a fact demonstrable in various ways. Examinations of army recruits, of school children, of hospital patients are cited as furnishing such proof.

Just now the declining birth-rate is giving the English "food for thought." The number of births to every 1,000 of the population declined between the years 1876 and 1901 from 34.8 to 28.0 in the United Kingdom as a whole and from 36.3 to 28.5 in England and Wales. Since 1901, according to careful statisticians, there has been a further lowering of the birth-rate, and before long, if the downward tendency is not checked, England may find herself in the position that France has occupied for a number of years—that of a country with a stationary population.

Now, even a progressive diminution of natality does not necessarily indicate deterioration. Important as the question of numerical strength is, it is not so important as the distinct question of quality. But a report issued recently by the mathematical department of the University of London shows that the birth-rate question is very far from being a question of mere numbers. It appears that, while the rate is low for the nation, it is not low for the "lower classes" of the nation, but only for the educated, prosperous and superior classes. Evidence is brought forward to show that "the birth-rate of the more capable stocks is decreasing relatively to the mentally and physically feebler stocks." The wives in the poorest and most congested districts, the districts of least prosperity and intelligence, bore the largest families; that is, the morally and socially inferior elements in the community are those which are reproducing themselves with the greatest rapidity. To quote the report further:

The net fertility of the lower status remains higher than that of the superior status. The relationship between inferior status and high birth-rate has practically doubled during the last fifty years, and it is clear that in London at least the reduction in the size of families has begun at the wrong end of the scale, and is increasing in the wrong way.

Richard J. Seddon
Late premier of New Zealand.

In these circumstances the birth-rate problem is a many-sided social problem. It includes questions of proper housing, sanitation, light and air, regu'ation of workshops, child and female labor, temperance, and so on. To improve the British race, to prevent deterioration, it is manifestly necessary to improve radically the conditions of life and labor of the masses of the people.

Great Wealth and the Man

The death of Alfred Beit, "the diamond king," last month, furnished to many writers a fruitful text on the simple or rational life. What, one wonders, would have been the history of South Africa without the diamond trust and the triumvirate, Rhodes, Barney Barnato and Alfred Beit? These three powerful men were not merely rich and successful beyond the dreams of avarice; they were rulers of the modern world. They influenced national and imperial policies; they did not shrink from invasion and war—for Beit, like Cecil Rhodes, was undoubtedly concerned in the Jameson raid which led to the war between the Boer states and England. They are dead; each of them died at a comparatively early age. What is left of their work? By what will the world remember them?

It would be a mistake to suppose that they were in all respects alike. On the contrary, as an interesting editorial in the New York *Sun* pointed out, Rhodes and Beit were superior in every way to Barnato. To quote the *Sun*:

They were made of finer clay, and each in his way was an idealist, Beit as a genius of business, Rhodes as an empire builder. They had to work with Barnato, as a gambler born under a lucky star, until he could be eliminated as a factor in South African affairs; but Rhodes and Beit continued to be partners in things financial and political after Barnato's star had paled in the speculative sky and he had found his level. Alfred Beit was probably the greatest business man in the world at the time of his death, his interests including copper mines in the United States, gold mines in South America, Siberia, Corea, and shares in steam and electric railways in all parts of he world, besides his enormous investments in South African mines, lands, and industrial and traction companies. . . . The two men had many tastes in common as lovers of the arts and as collectors. Rhodes was an Oxford man and read the classics in editions specially brought out for him. They were both generous givers for educational and charitable purposes. Beit was a man who shunned notoriety, and his methods were subtle and soundless. Rhodes was proud of his fame, and did things on a lavish scale and in a royal way, as one who should have been born in the purple and could not but make a noise in the world. Had Rhodes lived to old age there is no knowing what part he might still have played as a British statesman; had Beit long survived he would have become a billionaire. Barnato would never have been anything but a happy-go-lucky gambler.

The Late Alfred Beit
South African promoter.

Barnato committed suicide at the age of forty-five, Cecil Rhodes died at forty-nine, and Beit at fifty-three. Rhodes and Beit originally went to South Africa in search of health. Barnato began his career there as a clown in a circus. Each became rich when very young.

Rhodes will be remembered by his great railway and industrial projects for South Africa, by his enthusiastic faith in that country's future, and by his devotion to "empire," peculiar as it was and discreditable as was the

attack on the Transvaal to which that devotion led him. Beit was a less spectacular man, and avoided notoriety during life. He was, however, a profound believer in South Africa, and his will, not so "imaginative" as was that of Rhodes, is characteristic of the man. Several millions were bequeathed to educational and industrial and charitable institutions, and $6,000,000 set aside as a fund the income of which should be applied by the trustees to the construction, development and improvement of the South African means of communication and transportation. Nothing, in Beit's view, was more essential to the progress of the South African states than rapid and adequate communication, and as South Africa had done much for him, he felt it to be a duty as well as a pleasure to do something for South African civilization, material and moral.

Such indications of idealism and disinterestedness in promoters and exploiters of continents are very gratifying. But why should these qualities be revealed after death? Is it rational to make one's will the best expression of one's better nature? A good life is infinitely more potent for good than a tacit atonement by will for a grossly materialistic life. The world is beginning to recognize this truth. It may not be "a disgrace to die rich," but it is a disgrace to live a spiritually and humanly poor, barren life.

Progress in the British Empire

The Liberal government of Great Britain, in conformity with its traditional principles is planning to extend representative government in the dependencies and crown-governed colonies. There are strong "imperialists" in the Campbell-Bannerman cabinet, but they do not regard "empire" and despotism, even of the benevolent kind as synonymous.

About eighteen months ago it was announced in Parliament that a constitution would be granted to the Transvaal colony, with representative government, of course, as its

essential feature. The Boers, however, demanded "responsible government," by which phrase they implied full instead of partial self-government. The Balfour ministry thought that demand premature; but the Liberals promptly conceded it "in principle."

There were, however, several questions which presented much difficulty. They comprised the basis of representation, the qualifications for voting, the "value" of votes (whether each vote should have the same value, or some privileged voters should have greater power than the other citizens), the harmonization of the conflicting interests of Boers and Britons. The Balfour government had worked on these questions, but when the dissolution came it had not completed the work. The new government sent a commission to the Transvaal to take evidence and report, and in July the commission returned. The Liberal constitution for the Transvaal has since been published in outline and discussed. Tories and "imperialists," including Rudyard Kipling, have denounced it as involving the restoration of Boer rule and the reënslavement of the British residents. The Liberals see in it no danger whatever to British supremacy or to equal rights and political justice.

Baron Komura
New Japanese Ambassador to Great Britain.

The Transvaal is to have a parliament consisting of a legislative council popularly elected, an upper house, and a governor-general representing the crown. There are "checks and balances" in the constitution to prevent hasty legislation, but responsible autonomous government is assured, on a basis of manhood suffrage for all white inhabitants.

Perhaps even more significant than these developments in the Transvaal are the proposed political reforms for the Indian empire. John Morley, the Indian Secretary, outlined these reforms in a speech on the budget of "the great Asiatic

dependency." He admitted that "a new spirit was abroad" in India—as a result of the Manchurian war, largely, and the rise of Japan—and that the natives were restive and desirous of greater freedom. Western ideas were spreading in India, and the time, Mr. Morley thought, had come for a step or two toward self-government. The Viceroy has appointed a commission to consider the practicability of making the legislative council of India, now an appointive body, representative and elective in part. Further, the natives ought to be given access to the higher posts in the civil service, and greater freedom of speech and assembly ought to be permitted. These reforms, Mr. Morley thought were entirely safe, and they would allay the discontent of the progressive natives, who were not disloyal, but who were complaining of unnecessary restrictions.

The importance of these admissions is obvious to students of the Indian problem. British rule in India has been severely criticised—not always with reason or justice. Apparently the Liberals feel that they cannot consistently uphold crown rule in India, and that the natives are entitled to practical evidence of England's intention to prepare them gradually for self-government.

An Inspiring Victory for Justice

The end of the affair Dreyfus in France was a striking illustration of the might of reason and justice. The great national drama, whose victims, unfortunately, are not all among the living, will become historic. What infamies and crimes it led to, and what splendid courage, humanity and heroism it called forth! The Dreyfus affair divided France into two bitterly hostile camps. It made and destroyed parties and governments; it threatened civil war; it drove men to suicide; it profoundly affected the politics of a decade. Its last phase is highly creditable to the French mind, and full of inspiration to all lovers of truth and honor.

The French, it is said, have a passion for logic and thoroughness, and this passion has certainly had full and free play in the *denouement* of the drama. Justice was done with a generous hand. Capt. Dreyfus, the branded and condemned "traitor," the prisoner on Devil's Island, the despised and degraded convict, is now a major, a chevalier of the legion of honor, and an honored man. He is attached to a "crack" regiment in Paris, and President, Cabinet and Parliament have united in making his vindication full and complete. Lieut.-Col. Picquart, the bravest and noblest of the champions of Dreyfus—or of truth and justice in the case of Dreyfus—has likewise been restored to the army, promoted, decorated and given a distinguished post. Zola, who wrote the "I Accuse" indictment of the forgers, perjurers and conspirators in the army, and who, with other publicists —notably Clemenceau, now Senator and Minister of the Interior—brought about the second trial of Dreyfus, with its lame verdict, the pardon and the practical esablishment of Dreyfus's innocence — is to have a monument in the Pantheon, and all other leaders of that memorable struggle have been morally rewarded by the French nation for their self-sacrificing shares in the campaign for Dreyfus.

The main features of the case are familiar. The first trial of the Jewish captain for treason took place in 1894. The court-martial convicted him, and few doubted his guilt. The few who doubted at once began a journalistic campaign for a reversion of the judgment. They enlisted several statesmen and carried the question into Parliament. After years of heroic effort, the army and the politicians and the anti-Semitic press desperately resisting and breathing war and violence, the Court of Cassation set aside the verdict and ordered a new trial. The second trial, held at Rennes in 1899, proved the flimsiness of the case against Dreyfus, but the court-martial yielded to prejudice, military dictation and hatred, and again found the defendant guilty—"with extenuating circumstances." President Loubet at once "pardoned" Dreyfus.

Major Alfred Dreyfus

Colonel Picquart

FOUR PROMINENT FIGURES

But the ex-captain was bound to clear his name and honor. New facts were presented to the Court of Cassation, an inquiry was again ordered, and at last the court annulled the Rennes verdict unconditionally. The nation accepted the result calmly. The "affair" was over. The conspirators were discredited. The Republic is stronger today in consequence of the trials and conflicts it has undergone in connection with the affair. Civil supremacy is assured. The army is purged, and the anti-Semitic movement has received a deadly blow.

The Work of the Interparliamentary Union

Recently the Interparliamentary Union, a body composed, as its name indicates, of members of the various legislative bodies, met in conference in London to further the cause of international peace, arbitration and good will. The union has no official status; the delegates to the conference could not commit the parliaments which they morally represented. Some of them belong to the minority parties. But

The late Emile Zola

Lieutenant Esterhazy

many influential statesmen belong thereto, and any action taken by it is likely to command respectful attention at the Hague Congress that is to meet next year.

Several propositions will be presented to that congress in the name and on behalf of the union. They include:

A definition of contraband of war restricting that phrase to arms, munitions of war and explosives. The acceptance of the principle that ships that do not come within the above definition shall not be destroyed. Making private property on water as immune from the destruction by a belligerent as private property on land is.

A resolution was passed by the conference favoring periodical meetings of the Hague Congress and requesting the Powers to instruct their delegates to the next congress to provide for the codification and development of international law. Another resolution urged an agreement toward partial disarmament or restriction of military expenditures.

A "model" arbitration treaty was under consideration. Mr. Bryan, the Democratic leader, who was a guest of honor at the conference, was given the privilege of the floor, and he proposed an amendment to the "model" treaty. Whereas

the general feeling today is that "vital" questions affecting national sovereignty, integrity or honor should not at present be regarded as within the scope of arbitration, Mr. Bryan urged the conference to take a great step forward and recommend "publicity" and impartial discussion of all disputes over "vital" questions. His amendment was as follows:

If a disagreement should occur between contracting parties, which in the terms of the proposed arbitration treaty, need not be submitted to arbitration, they shall, before declaring war or engaging in any hostilities whatever, submit the question to the Hague Court or some other impartial international tribunal for investigation and report, each party reserving the right to act independently afterward.

Mr. Bryan made an eloquent speech in support of this amendment, and the conference adopted it unanimously. The whole incident attracted wide attention in Europe, and Mr. Bryan's advocacy of peace and arbitration in so effective and impressive a manner has given great pleasure to his countrymen.

A Remarkable Political Situation

The graft scandals, the trust prosecution, rebate cases and the general unrest have had one curious effect. They have made the "radicalism" of two years ago the safe and sane conservatism of today. In the Democratic party there is now a spontaneous, apparently irresistible movement in favor of William J. Bryan as the next candidate of that party for President of the United States. Several state conventions have already "indorsed" him for that nomination, conservative Democrats and former opponents of Mr. Bryan taking the initiative in these extraordinary demonstrations.

Two years ago, it will be remembered, the Democrats repudiated the leadership of Mr. Bryan and nominated a conservative man on a conservative platform. The success which this policy was expected to bring failed to come. The defeat of Judge Alton B. Parker by President Roosevelt was overwhelming.

Had the radical wing of the party turned once more to Mr. Bryan, the situation would have been regarded as perfectly natural. But a very different thing has happened. The radical wing is disposed to view Mr. Bryan as a conservative, and a man "abreast of the times" is called for by it. Such a man, many think, is found in Mr. Hearst, the editor of radical papers published in New York, Boston, Chicago and San Francisco. Mr. Hearst ran for Mayor of New York and was all but successful, for Mr. McClellan, the Tammany candidate, had a very small plurality. Mr. Hearst claims that he was actually elected and defrauded of the office by corrupt ballot-box manipulators. At any rate he has developed great political strength and is a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. Beside him Mr. Bryan is "a conservative statesman," in the opinion of the "safe and sane" elements.

Beside him, and also, according to frank representatives of corporate interests, beside President Roosevelt, the real author of the railroad rate bill, the advocate of limitation of huge accumulations of wealth, the man responsible for the meat agitation. Mr. Roosevelt has vitalized the anti-trust law and the anti-rebate law, and has obtained legislation for federal meat inspection in the interest of public health, a government investigation having satisfied him that the conditions in the packing establishments needed thorough modification. The meat exposures caused a crisis in the packing industry and provoked international indignation and apprehension. The President's methods were resented and attacked by the injured interests and allied industries, and again Mr. Bryan's "conservatism" was opposed to Mr. Roosevelt's "radicalism."

Yet the President's policies and principles are indorsed by the Republican state conventions and identified with progressive modern republicanism. Mr. Roosevelt pledged himself two years ago to withdraw at the end of his second term and to accept no nomination for a third term under any circumstances. He is, therefore, in no sense a candidate; but it is a serious question whether his party can permit

him to retire. He is its "greatest asset," in the terms of Republican assets, and to nominate a less aggressive and active man is to insure Democratic success under Mr. Bryan's inspiring leadership.

Is Mr. Bryan in truth more conservative than President Roosevelt, or than the Mr. Bryan of six and two years ago? There is little, if any foundation for this notion. Mr. Bryan has not modified his views on any public question. He is still a bimetallist, though he holds that the gold discoveries of recent years have solved the "more money" problem for the present and rendered silver coinage unnecessary. In other respects he is as radical as he ever was, and if he no longer *appears* radical, it is because the position of the public has been shifted. Among the most important reforms Mr. Bryan has proposed and advocated are these:

Direct election of United States Senators; election of federal judges for limited terms; extension of the principles of the initiative and referendum; government ownership and operation of the telegraph system; municipal ownership of certain public utilities; suppression of private monopolies, by means of additional anti-trust legislation and resolute enforcement of existing law; income taxation.

President Roosevelt does not share the more radical of these ideas, and is therefore the more conservative statesman. On the other hand nothing he has done in office could have been left undone by Mr. Bryan, had he been elected chief executive, consistently with his pledges and avowed beliefs.

When there is so much speculation regarding the national political developments of the future, it is well to bear in mind the facts and realities of the present situation.

The End of the First Russian Douma

On July 22 the Russian douma was dissolved by an imperial ukase. This act was in a sense a *coup d'etat*, although the present "fundamental laws" of Russia, promulgated in May, on the eve of the convention of the douma, vest in the monarch the right to dismiss parliament at will.

It was a *coup d'etat* morally speaking, because the situation did not demand or justify such a step. The action was taken on the advice of the "court clique," of the fanatical, blind, and dishonest bureaucracy, the bureaucracy that brought about the war with Japan and the series of crushing defeats that Russia sustained. It was a colossal blunder and the direst consequences threatened to follow it for a while.

The manifesto in which the dissolution was sought to be explained or justified was a grotesque document, transparently sophistical, lame and insincere. The douma, it said, had cruelly disappointed the Tzar's expectations; it had strayed into spheres beyond its competence; it had dared to make adverse comments on the fundamental laws, the reversion of which rested with the Tzar alone; it had attempted illegal acts—such as the issue of a proclamation to the people on the agrarian question in which the policy of the crown was condemned. In short, it had proved itself incompetent and presumptuous, and its usefulness was at an end.

This is the official view. The progressive, honest and impartial view is very different. The douma was dissolved because it had proved itself bold, independent, fearless and zealous in the interest of the people. The bureaucracy had hoped to control it, to confine it to secondary, humble duties. In this it was in truth "cruelly disappointed." The douma felt that the masses trusted it and regarded it as the only savior of Russia.

The work of the douma was important and productive far beyond the average parliament. It sat only nine weeks, but during that time it debated several questions of the greatest moment—the future system of land tenure, famine relief, the abolition of capital punishment in political cases (the penalty not being applicable to ordinary criminal cases), amnesty, freedom of conscience, civil and political equality of all citizens, the right of assembly and of free press, responsibility for massacres and riots and the means of protecting the Jewish and other inhabitants, and, above all, the question of a responsible, constitutional ministry. Only two bills were passed by the douma, but work was proceeding in

committee on half a dozen other bills when the order of dissolution startled the world.

The measure was as senseless as it was desperate. The act was one of those blunders that spell suicide. The court clique undoubtedly persuaded the ignorant, vacillating, weak Tzar that a more tractable and subservient douma could be elected with proper "management" and interference. This is an absurd delusion. The disgust and anger and dismay of the country will inevitably find expression in the next election, and the second douma is certain to be even more radical, less opportunist than the first one.

There is, in reality, no possibility of surrender to the government. The alternative to genuine constitutionalism is brutal, frank, complete reaction—counter-revolution. It is feared that the latter course is what the reactionary clique really contemplates. The repression already begun may lead to repudiation of the Tzar's promise to convoke another douma in March next. The leaders in the late douma, in the manifesto they issued from Viborg, Finland, a day or two after the *coup d'etat* expressed this apprehension. Should the government, it said in the defiant, revolutionary manifesto, succeed in putting down the popular revolt against autocratic tyranny, the work of the last two years would be undone.

But the douma did not incite armed rebellion. Its manifesto was not a call to arms. It desired to avoid bloodshed and needless sacrifice. What it advised and urged the people to do was to strike, or rather to boycott the government—to refuse to pay a cent in taxes or to furnish a man for military service. This is passive resistance, effective if general and determined. A strike of the city workmen was also proposed. Such strikes for political purposes are not unknown either in Russia or elsewhere. They require unity and skill and resolution, as well as intelligence and patience. At this writing an attempt at a general strike has failed. The liberals are pessimistic, while the revolutionists threaten terror on an unprecedented scale. The outlook is dark and disheartening, though the new prime minister, Stolypin, professes liberal ideas.

Queen Elizabeth Knighting Drake on Board the Golden Hind, at Deptford, 1581, from the Drawing by Sir John Gilbert, R. A.

Beginning of England's Sea Power*

By Cecil F. Lavell

Professor of History in Trinity College; author of C. L. S. C. Book on "Italian Cities," etc.

TWICE since the Norman Conquest has the little country of England been the center of an empire: once when Henry II of England was at the same time master of half France; and now again when the Union Jack or the red ensign flies over cities and continents of which Henry Plantagenet never dreamed. Yet to use the same word to describe both of these empires seems unfortunate. Indeed the very use of the word "empire" is questionable,—only to be sanctioned because we seem to have no other word that will quite answer the purpose. For "empire" is a Roman word. Its use seems to imply in some way absolute power,—the centralization which was so fundamentally characteristic of Rome. And yet the feudal empire of Henry II, so far from being centralized, was a mere bundle of separate lordships, thrown together by the accidents of conquest, marriage, and divorce, with no more likeness to a consolidated state than a kaleidoscope has to a painting, or an ice palace to a Gothic cathedral. It was dashed to pieces in the reign of John, built again by Edward III, torn apart once more in the latter years of the fourteenth century, put together in a structure of surpassing glory by Henry V, and finally destroyed in the reign of his son. But through it all, for these three hundred

*This is the first of a series on "Imperial England" in THE CHAUTAUQUAN. The complete list includes: Beginning of England's Sea Power, The Opening of the East, The Great Duel with France, September; Pioneers of Empire—Clive and Hastings, Cook and Phillip, David Livingstone, October; The Dominion of Canada, The Road to the East, The Perils and Rewards of Empire, November.

St. Nicholas or Drake's Island, Plymouth, England

Pope Alexander VI
Who divided the world between Spain and Portugal.

Admiral Sir John Hawkins

years, England's own well-being and growth were something entirely apart from her connection with these other possessions of her king; the bond that united them had no root in national life. And if there is more organic unity in the British Empire of today,—if there is in it, indeed, a very powerful and living organic unity,—yet there is as little centralization as there was in the days of Henry II. So if we use the word "empire," as we must, let us at least remember that the old significance of the Roman word *imperium* has largely departed.

What the empire of Henry II was, then, was the loose, feudal union of half France with England. But in it the English destiny or the English national character was scarcely involved at all. It was not the genius of Englishmen that built up the feudal empire; it was feudal custom and the ability of half a dozen men to whom the English tongue was an abomination. England's influence was not materially extended; she was rather influenced by France than France by England. So that from the landing of the Jutes in 449 until the close of the Hundred Years War in 1453, and of the Wars of the Roses in 1485, England was simply England, not even

The Death of Sir Hugh Willoughby

Great Britain—with no political interest outside her borders except a feudal and dynastic interest which affected only the king and the military aristocracy. Her trade was largely local, across the narrow seas. Her seamen were many and daring, it is true, but from the political point of view they were in the background. And they remained so until the Tudors, recognizing at last, even if vaguely and with intervals of complete blindness, that they were English kings

Alphonse Albuquerque

and nothing more, caught the spirit of sea enterprise and began to see that England's only chance for greatness lay in her ships and sailors.

By the end of the fifteenth century England and France had ended their long war, and the rival families of York and Lancaster had fought their fierce quarrel for the throne to a finish. A long period of comparative peace came now, when even liberty seemed scarcely worth fighting for, so satisfying was the rest from war. And this age of peace and

Vasco Da Gama and the King of Calicut

Jean Baptiste Colbert
Famous Minister of Finance
under Louis XIV.

Jules Mazarin
Cardinal and Prime Minister
under Louis XIV.

Samuel De Champlain
Explorer.

Cardinal Richelieu
Statesman.

FOUR GREAT FRENCHMEN

William III of England, after a Picture by Netscher

revival of the royal power in the hands of the masterful Tudor sovereigns, brought too a steadily increasing responsiveness to the thrill of new intellectual life which was shaking Europe. The Renaissance in Italy had reached its height before the sixteenth century opened, and had begun to send abroad such impulses of spiritual quickening as soon reached England through men like Colet, Erasmus, and Thomas More. And at the same time there came

Martin Frobisher

other influences just as disturbing. There were rumors of the advancing power of the Turks, of the closing up the old trade routes to Asia by way of Constantinople, Syria, and Egypt, and—far more amazing—the opening of a new route to the east by Diaz and Vasco da Gama around the Cape of Good Hope. Portugal leaped into fame and wealth with the commerce now made possible by her navigators; Venice and Genoa faced slow ruin with the passing of the greatness of the Mediterranean highway; and all sea-faring peoples felt some stirring of the blood at the thought of the rich reward that had followed the enterprise of a handful of bold sailors. But eclipsing all other news came the tremendous tidings of the crossing of the Atlantic. All too late did Henry VII send out John and Sebastian Cabot to bring England some of the advantage of this short cut to India—as everyone deemed was the significance of the discovery of Columbus. But no effort could make Newfoundland or Cape Breton or Labrador yield the rich spoil that soon flowed to Spain from the mines of Mexico and Peru. As Italy had led in the revival of learning, Portugal and Spain had led in the discovery of new worlds, and by the time the bewildered minds of English statesmen and sailors

Goa, from an Old Wood-cut

Vasco Da Gama

Jacques Cartier

had adjusted themselves to the vast changes wrought in a single generation, the chance of sharing in the trade of Asia or the wealth of America seemed forever lost. The fruits of the Renaissance could be learned. The dying torch of Italy could touch the eager lamp of England's genius, and inspire as splendid a burst of intellectual glory in the northern island as Florence herself had seen in the days of Lorenzo. But the fruits of maritime enterprise could not so easily be transferred. Spain and Portugal, first in the field, rejoiced and waxed fat in a flood of wealth out of all proportion to the energy expended. The peoples of the north seemed to be hopelessly left behind.

Sebastian Cabot

It must be remembered that no one, up to the middle of the sixteenth century at any rate, had thought of planting a colony in our modern sense of the word. The possibility of such a development as was later seen in the American colonies of England, in Australia, or in Canada had not occurred to the wildest dreamer. The prize of Spain in her own eyes was not the opportunity to plant and develop new Spains over seas, but that of seizing a lucrative trade and exploiting a vast, helpless, and wealthy possession. And in this new territory competition was by no means to be permitted. The custom followed by all European countries of making indefin-

Sir Humphrey Gilbert Receiving from Queen Elizabeth His Patent of Discovery and Colonization

itely large claims on the strength of sighting a single stretch of coast meant that Spain claimed the whole of the West Indies and Central and South America—with the sole exception of the Portuguese possession of Brazil—as one vast preserve. Not only was this whole territory annexed to the Spanish crown, but the wealth that came from it was a monopoly. Absurd as the idea seems to us, moreover, it was in accord with the notions of the time, and was accepted as right and normal by the English themselves. But no body of law, and no power of custom could so cancel the primary instincts of human nature that sailors and traders of all nations would not look somewhat wistfully at the gigantic prize that was making Spain the wealthiest and most powerful state in Europe. And every new rumor of the riches of Mexico and Peru made it more certain that little excuse would be needed to bring eager adventurers to the Spanish Main to snatch such crumbs of the great feast as Providence, cunning, or force might give them. Marvelous tales came with every western breeze to draw men toward the horizon beyond which

The Sheik of Mozambique Visiting Da Gama

Admiral Lichthart with Six Vessels Attacks a Portuguese Fleet of Seventeen Sail

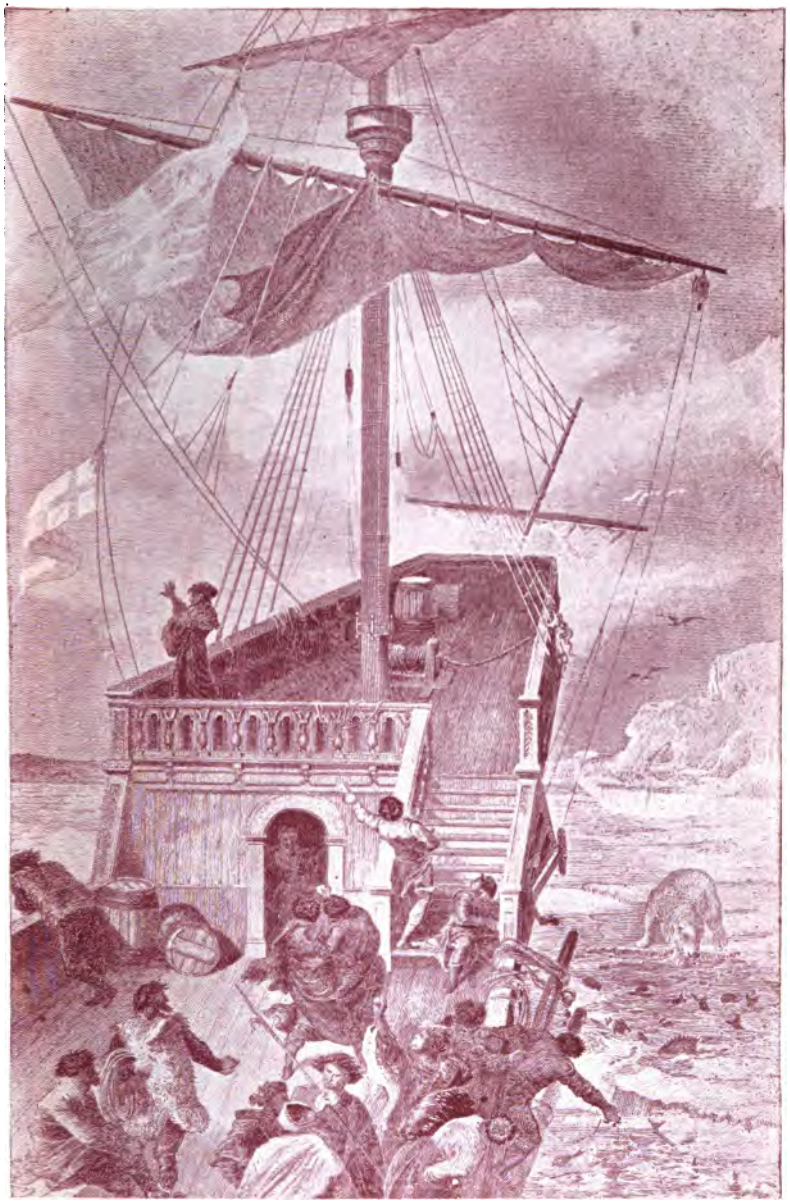
The Purchase of Wives in Virginia

Sir Henry Middleton Escaping from the Turks

Montcalm De St. Veran

Mary II, Queen of England

lay America. And the inevitable conflict began early. In November, 1519, Cortez entered the city of Mexico for the first time, and when the conquest was completed two great treasure ships were despatched to Spain as an earnest of what was coming. France and Spain were at war just then, and a Florentine captain named Verazzani in the service of France captured those treasure ships near the Azores. So Europe learned at the same time both the fabulous wealth of Spanish America and the ease with which a share of it could be obtained. France accordingly followed up Verazzani's success with some degree of vigor, but England still waited,—partly because her conservative instincts forbade her to make a new movement too hurriedly, and partly because during a great part of the sixteenth century she was Spain's ally. Then the Protestant revolution came to sow discord. The Marian persecution and the acute danger for a time that England might be made by Mary and Philip II a mere province of Spain awakened in the minds of Englishmen an active hatred of the Spaniards. And with the accession of Elizabeth in 1558 the two countries began definitely to drift into a relation in which a small cause



Sebastian Cabot Leaving Labrador

might precipitate a bitter and relentless war. The English sailors began to do more than cast greedy looks toward the Spanish Main. Ship after ship crossed the Atlantic to defy the monopoly by securing some of the trade; and when traders were punished as smugglers and pirates their trade became after a time actual piracy, on the ancient principle that one may as well be hung for a sheep as a lamb. So national and racial a character did this unique kind of piracy assume, moreover, that an Englishman and a Spaniard came to regard one another as inevitable and invariable enemies, and the religious difference between them, aided by the Inquisition, added fierce fuel to their hatred. Yet for many years there was no open war. Neither Philip II nor Elizabeth wanted war, and both struggled against fate to preserve at least a nominal peace. War only came when Drake's great voyage of 1577-80 made it inevitable. Elizabeth had then to choose between England and Spain, for peace and goodwill with the one meant war with the other.

And now what of the actual growth of this new restlessness in the English, the rising determination to have a hand in the great doings over seas even if it did mean mysterious dangers from strange powers, human and infernal, and the bearding of Spain! For in the details of the growth of this new spirit lies the explanation of the modern sea power of England and the creation of her Empire. The British mastery of the seas does not date from the defeat of the Invincible Armada in 1588. That date is both too late and too early. The defeat of the Armada saved England from invasion, perhaps from conquest, and was the most brilliant of the victories won by English gallantry and spirit over the discipline and the resources of Spain. But it by no means destroyed the sea power of Spain. It is rather the specific point at which the beginning of her decline became evident to those who, a few years or decades later, saw her star waning and that of England waxing brighter and more glorious. Its chief significance, then, may be seen best by those who try to see it clearly in its setting. Not in that one battle, but in scores of fierce—often unrecorded—fights

the world over, did England awaken to her high destiny and prove her right to empire. And now for a few glimpses of the conflict.

On the eighth of June, 1576, Martin Frobisher left Deptford with two small barks (25 and 20 tons), the *Gabriel* and the *Michael* and a pinnace of 10 tons, to seek in the northwest a nearer passage to Cathay than by the Cape of Good Hope or the Straits of Magellan. On the 11th of July "he had sight of a high and ragged land"—probably Greenland—"but durst not approach the same by reason of the great store of ice that lay along the coast and the great mists that troubled them not a little." Not far from here he lost the pinnace and was deserted by the *Michael,* but "notwithstanding these discomforts the worthy captain, although his mast was sprung and his topmast blown overboard with extreme foul weather, continued his course towards the northwest, knowing that the sea at length must needs have an ending." So he passed on and did at length sight two great forelands, with a great open passage between them, which he entered, and sailed above fifty leagues, believing that he had Asia on his right hand and America on his left. After some time "he went ashore and found signs where fire had been made. He saw mighty deer . . . . which ran at him: and hardly he escaped with his life in a narrow way, where he was fain to use defence and policy to save his life. In this place he saw and perceived sundry tokens of the peoples resorting thither. And being ashore upon the top of a hill, he perceived a number of small things floating in the sea afar off, which he supposed to be porpoises, or seals or some strange kind of fish; but coming nearer, he discovered them to be men in small boats made of leather." These were a troop of Esquimaux, who after nearly taking the captain himself, did some trading with the sailors and by treachery captured five of them. After this they kept away from the ships, but one was taken by a stratagem and brought back to England. So "with this new prey, which was a sufficient witness of the Captain's far and tedious travel towards the unknown parts of the world

. . . . the said Captain Frobisher returned homeward, and arrived in England the second of October following. Thence he came to London, where he was highly commended of all men for his great and notable attempt, but specially famous for the great hope he brought of the passage to Cathay." Besides the unfortunate native there was by chance brought back a black stone—really iron pyrites—which certain refiners pronounced to be rich in gold. Thereafter it was gold, not the Northwest passage, which formed the chief attraction to the desolate region of the north. In Frobisher's second voyage 200 tons and in the third 1,700 tons of the stuff were brought with great labor to England to the sore loss of those who had borne the expense of the enterprise. But the interest of it all to us is not so much the success or ill success of these voyages. It is the persistent and purposeful daring, the awakening interest in a world wider than England, the determination against all obstacles to search the untried and immense possibilities of the New World. Every sentence of the old sailor narratives assures us that the narrowness, the pettiness, the morbid interest in unreal things, of the Middle Ages have passed away. It is like breathing in a draught of fresh sea air to see again the little ships of England—freighted with her great destiny—struggling against the terrors and dangers of the north,—stemming and striking great rocks of ice, compassed about with floes and bergs, and so driven by tempests against the crystal reefs that "planks of timber of more than three inches thick by the surging of the sea with the ice were shivered and cut in sunder."

To these northern voyagers the elements themselves were the most formidable foes. But to the all-expecting imaginations of the Elizabethan mariners there was even more terror in the strange beasts and devils of the new seas. An ice-berg was an ice-berg—dangerous enough but avoidable. But what of the strange monster that Sir Humphrey Gilbert saw "swimming or rather sliding upon the water off the coast of Labrador,—a monster like a lion in shape, hair and color, which passed along turning his head to and

fro, yawning and gaping wide with ugly demonstration of long teeth and glaring eyes, and which coming right against the ship sent forth a horrible voice, roaring and bellowing as doth a lion?" Might not this be the devil himself? And every voyager had to face beasts equally strange and equally invested with the halo of marvel that belonged to the newly discovered regions,—serpents with three heads, monsters in the shape and color of men who rose from the sea and might bring on many days of foul weather, and evil creatures such as the "monstrous venemous worme" encountered by the companions of Hawkins, "with two heads and a body as bigge as a man's arme, whose blood made the sword that cut him asunder as black as ink." Fearsome tales, surely. And yet these encounters with beasts and devils are after all only incidents. Even the conflicts with storms, with heat, and with cold were not the epoch-making ones of the age, significant as they are of its spirit. The great battles of the English were with a power more cruel and far more hated than ice, heat, storms, or savage monsters. The fierce and withering grip of Spain on the wealthiest part of the New World and on the empire of the sea till remained to be matched and shaken before England's introduction to her new future could be complete.

In the summer of 1568 John Hawkins, having accomplished a profitable bit of trade in negroes with those of the Spaniards who were willing to defy their own law for the sake of profit, headed northwest from the Gulf of Mexico intending to make for England. It was his third voyage, and he was well known in both England and Spain. It had been his avowed practice to simply disregard the Spanish laws as to trade, and since his living merchandise was badly needed for heavy labor by the Spanish mine owners and planters, he had driven a profitable business. In dining with the Spanish ambassador, after his second voyage, he had quite coolly declared his intention of visiting the African coast and the Indies again. And so he did; but as might be expected, this cool violation of Spanish law aroused irritation at the court of Philip II, and orders were sent out to treat

Hawkins as an open enemy if the opportunity occurred. Now it happened that on this very trip, as the English ships passed by the west end of Cuba, heavy storms came upon them and being driven far into the Gulf and failing to find any other harbor, they took refuge in the port of Vera Cruz, guarded by the castle of San Juan de Ullua. Here to their surprise they found twelve ships—part of the annual silver fleet for Spain—which were awaiting there the rest of the fleet and its armed convoy. Hawkins was a trader, not either a pirate or an enemy of the Spaniards. He did not touch the prize before him accordingly, but sent word of his arrival to the Spanish Council at Mexico, and asked permission to remain in the harbor to refit. But, says Hawkins, "the message being sent away the sixteenth of September at night, being the very day of our arrival, in the next morning, which was the seventeenth day of the same month, we saw open off the haven thirteen great ships. And understanding them to be the fleet of Spain I sent immediately to advise the general of the fleet of my being there: giving him to understand that, before I would suffer them to enter the port, there should some order of conditions pass between us for our safe being there, and maintenance of peace."

Now the harbor was so guarded by an island that the English ships in possession could easily keep out an enemy five times as strong. But the English admiral was torn between two difficulties. If he prevented the Spanish fleet entering, they must inevitably be shipwrecked by the next storm from the north. In view of the peace existing between the two countries—peace which Elizabeth was very anxious to maintain—such a disaster would be a very grave matter and would probably mean trouble from the Queen. On the other hand, if entrance were permitted there was the danger of treachery. At last Hawkins resolved on the more generous course, and giving the Spaniards the benefit of the doubt he made a convention, exchanged hostages and allowed them to come in.

All was apparently satisfactory for a time, and the English sailors set to work busily to repair their ships. It

was Monday, the twentieth of September, when the Spanish fleet entered the port. On Thursday morning the English noticed a suspicious shifting and embarking of men going on, and a stealthy clearing of the ships and arrangement of ordnance which was uncalled for on any peaceful pretext. Remonstrance first brought polite assurances, but at last the mine was sprung. On all sides the English were attacked, and in most cases were taken utterly by surprise. The men on shore were nearly all killed at once without mercy. The largest of the English ships was attacked by three Spaniards; each of the others was terribly outnumbered and what with the odds and the surprise, and the Spanish command of great ordnance on shore, the English were barely able to hold their own. After an hour's fight three of the enemy's ships were burned and sunk, and the battle eased off somewhat; but then fire ships were sent down upon Hawkins' battered vessels, and those that were able cut loose and put to sea as best they might,—two large ships, the *Jesus* and the *Minion*, the former of which was so injured that she had to be abandoned soon after,—and the smaller *Judith*, commanded by Francis Drake. Of the sufferings of the crews of these, as without sufficient provisions, with battered and half rigged ships, they wandered in an unknown sea, we cannot speak here. Those who have access to Hakluyt's voyages may read of them as told by two seamen, Phillips and Job Hartop, and by Hawkins himself in his narrative of this disastrous third voyage. But disastrous as the incident at San Juan de Ullua was to the English, it was—as has been well observed—even more disastrous to the Spaniards. For it brought them the bitter and undying enmity, not only of Hawkins, but also of the young captain of the *Judith*—Francis Drake.

Let us now move forward a few years. In 1571 Drake was in the West Indian seas engaged in real piracy on his own account. Ships were captured, treasure was seized and hidden, and investigations made into the operations by which the silver and gold of Peru was conveyed to Spain. He found that Panama was the focus on the Pacific side of the

Isthmus, and that the treasure was thence carried across the mountain ridge to Nombre de Dios, where it was shipped home. In May, 1572, with two ships and material for three pinnaces, the daring captain set sail from Plymouth to attack the richest spot on the Spanish Main. On reaching a group of islands near their destination he found that Nombre de Dios had recently been strongly fortified against a possible attack of the Maroons,—a formidable mixed negro and Indian race, deadly enemies of the Spaniards and treated by them like wild beasts. But he resolved to try his fortune. With seventy-three men he attacked the town on its coast side, drove the redoubtable Spanish soldiery out of the opposite gate, refused to touch three hundred and sixty tons of silver that were ready to be shipped in order to devote undivided attention to the stores of pearls and gold, and finally only withdrew from the panic-stricken town when he himself fell wounded. In spite of remonstrances the sailors bore their commander back to the boats. On the way out of the bay a wine ship was captured, and with her cargo to console them for their retreat the English took up their quarters on the island where the town had its gardens and poultry yards. Here they rested and looked after the wounded while their leader formed new plans.

With very little delay all necessary repairing was done, and the little squadron went on its way in search of more adventures. At Carthagena several prizes were taken, but the spread of the news from Nombre de Dios made surprises difficult, and Drake resolved to fall back on his little pinnaces and carry on his depredations on shore and up the rivers. For this it was necessary to learn the country, and establish firm alliance with the Maroons, which took time; so during the next month the rovers had to trust to their negro allies and an occasional ship for supplies, while they sustained various attacks from the Spaniards, and from a more dreaded foe—the yellow fever. Finally news came that a mule train was on its way from Panama to Carthagena with a great load of treasure. With eighteen men and a Maroon chief, named Pedro, with thirty negroes, Drake marched inland towards

Panama. In four days they reached the lofty ridge from which Drake first looked upon the Pacific. There was a great tree there in which the Maroons had cut and made steps, and had built at the top a "bower where ten or twelve men might easily sit." Here the Maroon chief "took our captain by the hand and prayed him to follow him, if he was desirous to see at once the two seas. . . . . After our captain had ascended to this bower with the chief . . . . and having as it pleased God at that time by reason of the breeze a very fair day, had seen that sea of which he had heard such golden reports, he besought Almighty God of his goodness to give him life and leave to sail once in an English ship in that sea. And then calling up the rest of our men he acquainted John Oxenham especially with this his petition and purpose, if it would please God to grant him that happiness; who understanding it presently protested that unless our captain did beat him from his company he would follow him by God's grace. Thus all, thoroughly satisfied with the sight of the seas, descended, and after our repast continued our ordinary march through the woods."

We must not continue the narrative further. It is sufficient to say that failing here and succeeding there, having once to embark on a raft to search for the lost pinnaces, Drake and his men turned at last homeward, "passing hard by Carthagena, in the sight of all the fleet, with a flag of St. George in the main-top of our frigate, with silk streamers, and ancients down to the water, sailing forward with a large wind." This piece of amazing impudence seems peculiarly Elizabethan, and the beauty of it is emphasized by the fact that Drake and his men were sailing home in captured Spanish ships,—their own having been destroyed in various ways during the year. Let us close our glimpse of the famous corsair by one more quotation. "Within twenty-three days," runs the narrative, "we passed from the Cape of Florida to the Isles of Scilly, and so arrived at Plymouth on Sunday about sermon-time, August 9, 1573. At what time the news of our Captain's return . . . did so pass over all the church, and surpass their minds with desire and de-

Queen Elizabeth Animating her troops at Tilbury, on the Threat of the Spanish Armada Invasion

. . . . the said Captain Frobisher returned homeward, and arrived in England the second of October following. Thence he came to London, where he was highly commended of all men for his great and notable attempt, but specially famous for the great hope he brought of the passage to Cathay." Besides the unfortunate native there was by chance brought back a black stone—really iron pyrites—which certain refiners pronounced to be rich in gold. Thereafter it was gold, not the Northwest passage, which formed the chief attraction to the desolate region of the north. In Frobisher's second voyage 200 tons and in the third 1,700 tons of the stuff were brought with great labor to England to the sore loss of those who had borne the expense of the enterprise. But the interest of it all to us is not so much the success or ill success of these voyages. It is the persistent and purposeful daring, the awakening interest in a world wider than England, the determination against all obstacles to search the untried and immense possibilities of the New World. Every sentence of the old sailor narratives assures us that the narrowness, the pettiness, the morbid interest in unreal things, of the Middle Ages have passed away. It is like breathing in a draught of fresh sea air to see again the little ships of England—freighted with her great destiny—struggling against the terrors and dangers of the north,—stemming and striking great rocks of ice, compassed about with floes and bergs, and so driven by tempests against the crystal reefs that "planks of timber of more than three inches thick by the sur[illegible] of the sea with the ice were shivered and cut in [illegible]

[illegible]rthern voyagers the elements themselves were [illegible]s. But to the all-expecting imag-[illegible]an mariners there was even more [illegible]easts and devils of the new seas. [illegible]-berg—dangerous enough but avoid-[illegible]e strange monster that Sir Humphrey [illegible]ning or rather sliding upon the water [illegible]abrador,—a monster like a lion in shape, [illegible]hich passed along turning his head to and

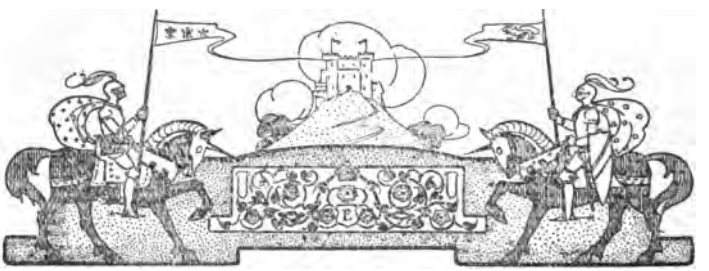
On Friday, the twenty-sixth, Lord Henry Seymour, who had been waiting between Calais and Dover, joined his admiral, while the Spaniards cast anchor off Calais. And now the English captains were ready to strike. On Sunday night fire ships were sent drifting down with an easy wind on the Spanish fleet. In a panic the great ships cut cables and put to sea, sailing on somewhat confusedly to form once more in a crescent off the Flemish town of Gravelines. And here, on Monday, July twenty-ninth, the English closed desperately with their enemies in the tremendous conflict that was to determine the independence of their country and the greatness of their race for ages to come. No new thing was it for the brave sailors of Drake and Hawkins to grapple with these lords of the Indies, these allies of the Inquisition, these proud devils who would treat London as they had treated Antwerp, and valiantly did they fight that day for England. By the evening the Invincible Armada was in full flight toward the North Sea. Then tempests more cruel than the English fell fiercely upon the beaten fleet. Painfully, in dire confusion, the great galleons labored northwards, strewing the shores with wrecks and with the corpses of hapless men who had hoped to harry England as they had harried the Netherlands, and who had found instead a wild grave on the pitiless shore of northern Scotland.

So England was saved. But had all these deeds of which we have been thinking no other significance than lay in the repulse of this one great invasion? Did the exploits on the Spanish Main for twenty years before the battle of Gravelines mean anything more to England and the world than any other of the daring deeds by which pirates of all ages carry on their desperate business? The answer to that question is told in the story of trade and adventure and toil on every sea and in every continent which is the story of England's empire. Not that Drake or the attack on Nombre de Dios made the empire. But it was the breaking up of the old insularity, the new spirit of maritime daring of which Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and Raleigh are all types, and of which the action at Vera Cruz and the attack on Nombre de Dios are typical

The SPANISH INVINCIBLE ARMADA, attacked between DOVER and CALAIS, and defeated by the ENGLISH FLEET.
PART OF KENT
PART OF PICARDIE
CALAIS
Engraved for the Universal Magazine 1750 for T. Kinton at the Kings Arms in St Pauls Church Yard London.

An Old Print of the Armada and the English Captains

incidents that made the Empire possible. Drake's exploits in the Isthmus and the Spanish Main are the prelude to the downfall of Spain's maritime empire. His voyage of 1577-80 round the world not only published to all nations England's audacity and Spain's helplessness, but paved the way for the extension of British influence into the south seas. The voyages of Davis, Gilbert, and Frobisher were the expression of the spirit which led to the formation of the Indian Empire and the founding of the Hudson Bay Company. And it was the same combination of the visionary with the practical, of imagination and action in such adventurers as Raleigh and Captain John Smith that brought into being the self-governing colonies of England in America.



The Opening of the East

WE have seen something of the unreal, artificial, inorganic character of the feudal empire of Henry II. We have made it clear to ourselves that the English kings had to lose the prestige and power attached to their possessions in France before the national life and genius of England—wholly unconnected as it was with Normandy and Aquitaine—could have full healthy development. Elizabethan England, free, united by a solid, intelligent and vigorous national life, was ten times greater in its possibilities than the motley realm for which Edward III and Henry V fought so gallantly and so vainly.

And now another empire has arisen. The dominions of Henry II could be lost in a corner of one of the great colonies. British soldiers, British traders, British sailors, British missionaries, and British law penetrate seas and wildernesses, rule cities and drain marshes, build docks and drive roads, teach, trade, and govern in lands of which not even a rumor or a fable ever reached the conquerors of Crecy and Agincourt. And as this modern empire is greater in area than the earlier one, so it is infinitely more complex. It is the work of no single statesman or soldier. It is the result of no clearly marked policy. It is the creation of wise men and foolish, of convicts and missionaries, of men of action and doctrinaires, of restless men who went forth seeking fame and adventure, and of home-loving men, crushed and troubled in London and Glasgow or the little home village in Ireland, who sought only peace and a better life beyond seas. Now it is for the study of this modern empire of Britain that we are clearing the way. And there is just one other fact of which we need to remind ourselves by way of making sure of our perspective. It is simply that of the present empire only a very small fraction owned the control of Britain one hundred and fifty years ago. Within that time Canada has been conquered, Australia discovered and settled, Cape Colony acquired from Holland. The conquest of the greater part of the Indian Empire and nearly all of

the extension of British power in Africa has been the work of the nineteenth century.

In our next study we shall see the conquest of Canada. A little later we shall see how Australia was found and colonized, and how British South Africa grew up from the little Dutch station at the Cape. Our present task is to see how first the mysterious East was unveiled to Europe, and how adventurous sailors and traders first penetrated the seas of the Orient, seeking the "wealth of Ormuz and of Ind" and the splendor of which wondrous tales had been told for so many years.

As it was during the reign of Elizabeth that the first steps were taken towards the founding of the English colonies in America, and the first English ship sailed across the Pacific, so it was while the great queen was still on the throne that a company of English merchants was authorized to enter upon competition with Portugal and Holland in the Eastern trade. Here as in America, England was late in the field, and before we endeavor to see something of the first feeble steps of the famous company "of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies," we must glance for a moment at their predecessors. For many and daring as the explorers of the English race have been, there are few chapters in the story of the expansion of Europe whose first pages contain an English name. Our pride of race, amply justified as it is, must recognize that if the English race—American, Canadian, Australian, or pure Yorkshire—has a certain careless curiosity, a tenacity, an unwillingness to retreat, and an inexhaustible determination to somehow reach the end aimed at, yet the exploring instinct in us is balanced and checked by our own virtues. The Englishman seldom forgets the end in the means, or allows a dream to overcome his caution. When Henry VII of England refused to listen to the application of Columbus his caution was typical of his race. When John of Portugal did the same thing his decision was out of accord with a century of Portuguese enterprise. While Marco Polo was exploring the far realms of the Khan of Tartary England was laying the foundations of her

Parliamentary government. While the Portuguese sailors sent out by Henry the Navigator were creeping mile by mile down the coast of Africa, England was vainly trying to conquer France and settle vexed questions as to the kings who should reign over her. In the age of Elizabeth, indeed, there was an outburst of chivalrous enthusiasm well represented by such heroes as Raleigh and Humphrey Gilbert. But in the main Englishmen need not be given credit of being the first to brush aside the dark veil of mystery that hid the outer world from the Europe of the Middle Ages. Rather do they merit the praise,—more practical, if less picturesque —of penetrating, settling, trading, building after the veil was lifted. The solid virtues of the trader and the pioneer look grey and unromantic beside the glorious achievements of Columbus, of Vasco da Gama, and of Balboa. The high emotions of the man who dares to face absolute mystery and to peer over the edge of the known world into possible infinity, are emotions that few Englishmen—few Teutons, indeed—have felt. And yet it is no accident that while an Italian sailor under Spanish orders discovered America, and a Portuguese navigator first pierced the Indian Ocean by the Cape of Good Hope, yet Spanish supremacy has yielded to Anglo-Saxon in the western world and the Portuguese possessions in the East are a mere dot on the edge of the vast realm of British India.

The discovery of America was practically a discovery of an unknown world. The voyage of Vasco da Gama in 1497-9 was the discovery of a new route to a world with which Europe has been in communication for ages. A thousand years before Portugal dreamed of a Cape route to India there was a steady and rich trade between Europe and the East along three great highways, each marked by famous and wealthy merchant cities. One lay through Alexandria and the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean. A second ran through Syria by way of Damascus and Palmyra to Bagdad and Persia. A third route was that by Constantinople, the Bosphorus, the Caucasus and the Caspian, connecting with the caravans from Northern India, Bokhara, and Samarcand.

The second of these had once been the greatest. It had fed the wealth of Tyre and Sidon and made possible the glory of Solomon. But the destruction of Tyre by Alexander had paved the way for the rise of Alexandria, and opulent as the Syrian cities remained for many ages, the Egyptian and the Bosphorus routes took thenceforward the greater part of the rich commerce between Asia and the Mediterranean. From the side of Europe the Asiatic trade tended more and more after the fall of Rome to fall into the hands of the Italian coast cities. Long before Europe had fully aroused itself from the stupor and the chaos of the Empire's collapse, Venice and Genoa and Pisa were sending their galleys to the Levant and the increase of trade with the Orient that came during the Crusades meant more wealth for the Italian cities as well as for Constantinople and Alexandria. But early in the fifteenth century a shadow that had already darkened Syria began to menace Constantinople and Egypt. In 1453 the triumphant Turks stood masters of the Bosphorus, and in 1516 their empire included the valley of the Nile. In place of a Christian Emperor and the civilized Arabs the three great roads to the East were in the hands of a wild and brutal race of fanatics, incapable of appreciating or preserving the civilization of the lands they had conquered, and indifferent to the value of the trade routes of which they now became the lords. It was as if a wall of barbarism had suddenly intervened between Europe and Asia. Trade at once became difficult. The wealth of Venice and Genoa began a slow but sure decline. And the very century that saw with every decade a new awakening of conscious curiosity and interest in the world saw the western peoples confronted with a totally new problem that both stimulated their keenest interest and seemed to defy solution.

There were three conceivable ways by which a fifteenth century European might think of reaching the Indies. One was the old threefold route already described, through the Mediterranean. One was straight across the Atlantic. One lay round the southern point of Africa. Of these the first was familiar enough, but was attended now with great difficulty

Prince Henry of Portugal

and risk. The second was a mere dream until the voyages of Columbus and his successors, and then it proved to be not so much a new route to the East as the opening up of a hitherto undreamed of continent. That the third should ever have been a mystery seems strange now, but such it certainly was. The north coast of Africa and inland as far as the great desert, the valley of the Nile as far as the granite quarries of Syene, and a few hundred miles of the Atlantic coast, represented all that Romans or medieval Europeans knew of what was indeed to them a Dark Continent. To Portugal belongs the honor of throwing light on at least part of that darkness. Early in the fifteenth century King John I sent out an expedition which passed the traditional boundary of Cape Non. His son, grandson on his mother's side of the English John of Gaunt, was the famous Henry the Navigator. Making his headquarters on the rocky promontory of Sagres near Cape St. Vincent, he founded a school of navigation, gathered together all the geographical wisdom of his age, and devoted his learning and his vast wealth to the solving of the mystery of the African coast. His first expedition in 1418 added Porto Santo and Maderia to the dominions of Portugal. In 1434 one of Prince Henry's little squadrons headed boldly out to sea and passed for the first time the formidable headland of Cape Bojador. Thereafter before Spain was even a united state or the enterprise of Columbus thought of—the ships of her little neighbor crept further south, explored the Gold Coast, discovered the mouth of the Congo, and finally in 1486 under Bartholomew Diaz doubled the mighty cape that forms the turning point of Africa. Almost at the same time Pedro de Covilham by way of Naples, Cairo, the Red Sea and Aden penetrated to India on a voyage, so to speak, of inspection. After visiting many cities there he set out on his return voyage, touching at Sofala on the east coast of Africa and reaching practical certainty as to the feasibility of a Cape route to India. He never reached Portugal, but in 1490 he sent his king a report which not only supplemented that of Diaz, but definitely assured him "that the ships which sailed down the

coast of Guinea might be sure of reaching the termination of the continent, by persisting in a course to the south; and that when they should arrive in the eastern ocean their best direction must be to inquire for Sofala and the Island of the Moon." The end might already be anticipated. In 1494 Pope Alexander VI divided the East and West between Spain and Portugal. And in July, 1497, Vasco da Gama sailed from the Tagus on the memorable voyage which ended in the harbor of Calicut on the Malabar coast of India, May 20, 1498.

In a later study we shall try to see something of the physical and political character of India. It is enough for the present to say that the peninsula had not even the pretence of unity. The Malabar coast is a mere strip between the Western Ghats and the sea, and though the ruler of Calicut was one of the most powerful of the coast rajahs, yet "Calicut and Cochin" (I quote here from Sir William Hunter) "were merely two among half a dozen patches of the Malabar strip: all Malabar had formed but one eighth of the single kingdom of Kerala; and the entire kingdom of Kerala was only one of the fifty-six countries of India recognized by Hindu geography." So the stage on which the Portuguese were to act out their part in the endess drama of India was not a great one. And gallantly as they faced and drove from the field their Moorish rivals in the trade of the Malabar coast, nobly as they added deed after deed to their already brilliant record of chivalrous heroism, yet the dark horrors of the Goa Inquisition add a terrible black side to the story, and the great names of Vasco da Gama, Almeida, and Albuquerque give place soon to others whose ruthless cruelties are redeemed by little of the high souled fearlessness and enterprise of the earlier days.

For a time the Portuguese simply traded, only showing their prowess when some act of treachery provoked them, or when the rivalry of the Moors and their Egyptian allies culminated in a battle royal between Christian and Moslem like the sea fight off Diu in 1509. But there was at least one true empire builder among them, and if there had been

more like him Portugal might have created a great and lasting dominion in the East. Even before he was made supreme representative of Portuguese authority in Eastern waters, Alfonso d' Albuquerque, left in 1507 in command of a squadron of six ships by Tristan da Cunha, conquered Socotra and imposed submission and payment of tribute on the Kingdom of Ormuz. And these were no barren triumphs of a mere fighter. The line of trade by which Portugal's Moslem competitors carried wealthy cargos of Indian merchandise to meet the galleys of Venice in the ports of Egypt lay through the Red Sea. Socotra lay almost across their path, and the ships that might steer to the north and so avoid Socotra, would have to pass by Ormuz. Moreover a hold over Ormuz meant control of the outlet of the Persian Gulf, and this carried with it not only a rich source of trade, but a long step—perhaps a complete one—towards maritime supremacy in the Orient. These bold strokes were carried out against the will of practically all the great captain's associates. They even ventured to present to him a written remonstrance, not daring to protest by word of mouth from fear of his passionate temper. But he struck aside all opposition, built a strong fortress at Ormuz, besieged the port of Aden, captured Goa and held it as a point of vantage for the control of the Malabar coast, and in 1511 seized the very center of the Mussulman trade further east by the conquest of Malacca. By 1515 the Portuguese were lords of the whole ocean highway from the African coast north to the Persian Gulf and east to the Spice Islands. Glad should we be if it were possible to devote more time to the knightly Viceroy to whom this was chiefly due. Of a nobler type than either Cortez or Pizarro, he is rather to be compared in our minds with the great Englishman of two centuries later,—Clive. It is told of him that a bitter enemy, one who had been with him and had sought again and again to thwart him in his great enterprises, died in poverty at Cochin while Albuquerque was at the height of his greatness. "But Alfonso d' Albuquerque forgot all that he had been guilty of towards himself and only held in memory that this man

had been his companion in arms, and helped him in all the troubles connected with the conquest of the kingdom of Ormuz like a cavalier, and ordered him to be buried at his expense with the usual display of torches, and himself accompanied the body to the grave clad all in mourning."

The first quarter of the sixteenth century, then, saw Portugal in practical possession of a monopoly of the trade of Southern Asia. The Italian cities had to be content with that which still might be brought in a thin trickle by Moorish and Egyptian merchants through the Red Sea, or which came by the two more northerly routes—through Syria and through the Bosphorus. The glory of Lisbon surpassed the glory of Venice, and Lisbon herself was almost equalled by Goa. Yet with the new spirit of intellectual life and enterprise that was stirring in Europe monopoly could not long prevail,—at least without a struggle. Even the treaty with Spain (the Treaty of Tordesillas), drawing a line between the two empires 370 leagues west of the Azores, ignored the fact that the earth was round, and before long the Portuguese traders saw with consternation the little squadron of Magellan (a Portuguese, but in the service of Spain) come sailing across the Pacific to the Philippines and the Moluccas. Each of the indignant rivals could appeal with unanswerable force to the Papal Bull of 1493 and the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), and though the matter was partly settled by the Convention of Saragossa in 1529 there remained much heartburning and frequent deadly quarrels. The two other possible competitors (before the revolt of the Netherlands from Spain) were France and England. But until late in the century both of these accepted as a thing accomplished the arrangements of 1493-4. One opening only was left by which the ambition and enterprise of the two northern states might find a way to gain wealth and power over seas. The Treaty of Tordesillas forbade intrusion from the west or south. Nothing was said about the north. Even before the voyage of Columbus the merchants of Bristol had sent ships out into the western ocean to seek a northwest passage to Asia, and after 1492 their efforts were redoubled.

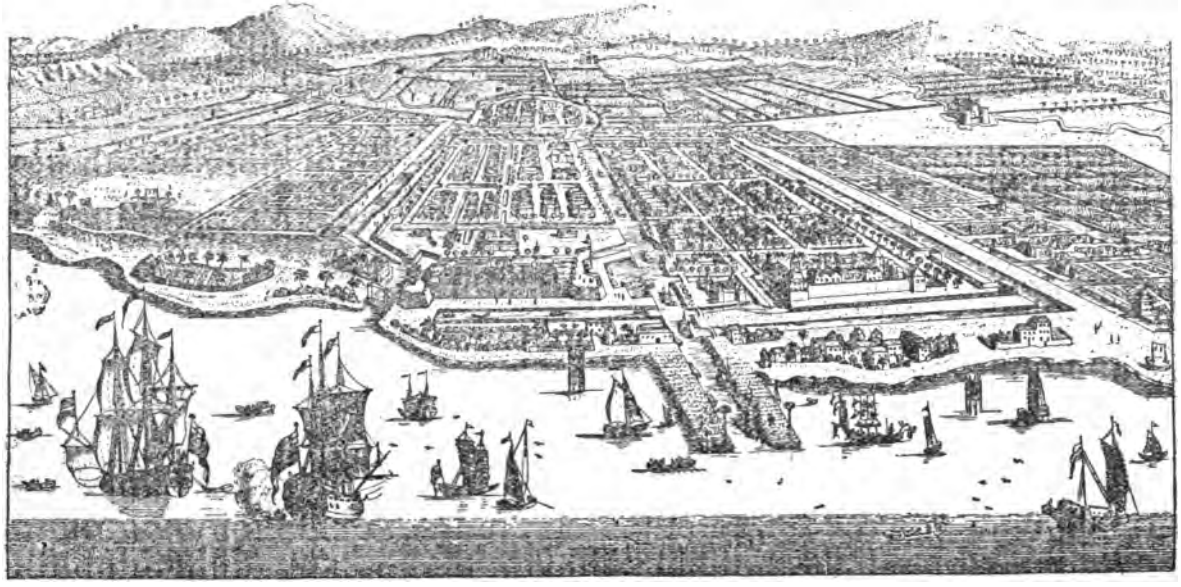
So in the closing years of the fifteenth century we see Spain believing herself to possess a southwestern passage to India, Portugal finally achieving the discovery of a southeastern route, and England eagerly seeking one by the northwest. No one realized that the three might clash. "You wrote that a person like Columbus," says the King of Spain in a letter to his ambassador in England in 1496, "has come to England for the purpose of pursuading the king to enter into an undertaking similar to that of the Indies, without prejudice to Spain or Portugal. He is quite at liberty."

In May, 1497, accordingly, John Cabot sailed from England with the hope of reaching Asia by the north Atlantic. Late in June—first of Europeans unless we except Leif Ericsson—he sighted the mainland of North America somewhere on the coast of Newfoundland or Cape Breton Island; but he and England thought it was Asia, and voyage after voyage ended in vain explorations on the unpromising coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador in search of some sign of the way to Cathay. That America was not Asia was evident before many years, but there was left a chance of at least passing through by the north to the Pacific as Magellan had to the south. And not of a northwest passage only, but even of one by the northeast was there hope in those years of blind groping. In 1553 Sir Hugh Willoughby sailed—at the suggestion and under the protection of a company headed by Sebastian Cabot—for the discovery of Cathay, and "diverse other regions, dominions, islands, and places unknown," by the northeast route. Through the summer and fall of that year his three vessels coasted along the cheerless shores of Russia, until winter fell upon them. And there two years later the hapless captain and his seventy men were found sitting or lying as they had died, blocks of ice in the shape of men, Willoughby himself seated at his table with maps and papers before him, watching them with dead eyes that were as full and clear as when the fatal drowsiness had seized them two long arctic nights before. John Milton tells the whole weird story in his History of Moscovia. More famous, doubtless, are the efforts of Humphrey Gilbert in

the northwest, and the three voyages of Martin Frobisher of which we spoke in our last study. But none of these availed, and the memory of them only remains to illustrate to us the awakening energy of the people who were already—in Frobisher's time—matching strength with Spain on her own ground, and were soon to intrude on the eastern domain of Portugal.

Four important events now have to be noted and kept in mind as bases of our next step forward into this subject of the opening of the East. First, the adoption by the English of the Protestant faith, carrying with it a new attitude of independence toward the Papal award of 1493. Second, the revolt of the Netherlands and the rapid rise of Holland as a maritime power. Third, the temporary union in 1580 of the crowns of Spain and Portugal. And fourth, the gradual growth and final bursting into flame of fierce hatred between Catholic Spain and Protestant England. Drake showed his countrymen with sufficient clearness that the northwest and northeast passages were not the only possible routes from England to India. The declining spirit and power of Portugal was already compelling her as the sixteenth century neared its close to give way in the east to the fierce courage and enterprise of the Dutch. And though the search for the northwest passage was not wholly put aside, yet the founding of the East India Company in 1600 proved that England had definitely decided to enter competition with Portugal and Holland in the Indian Ocean.

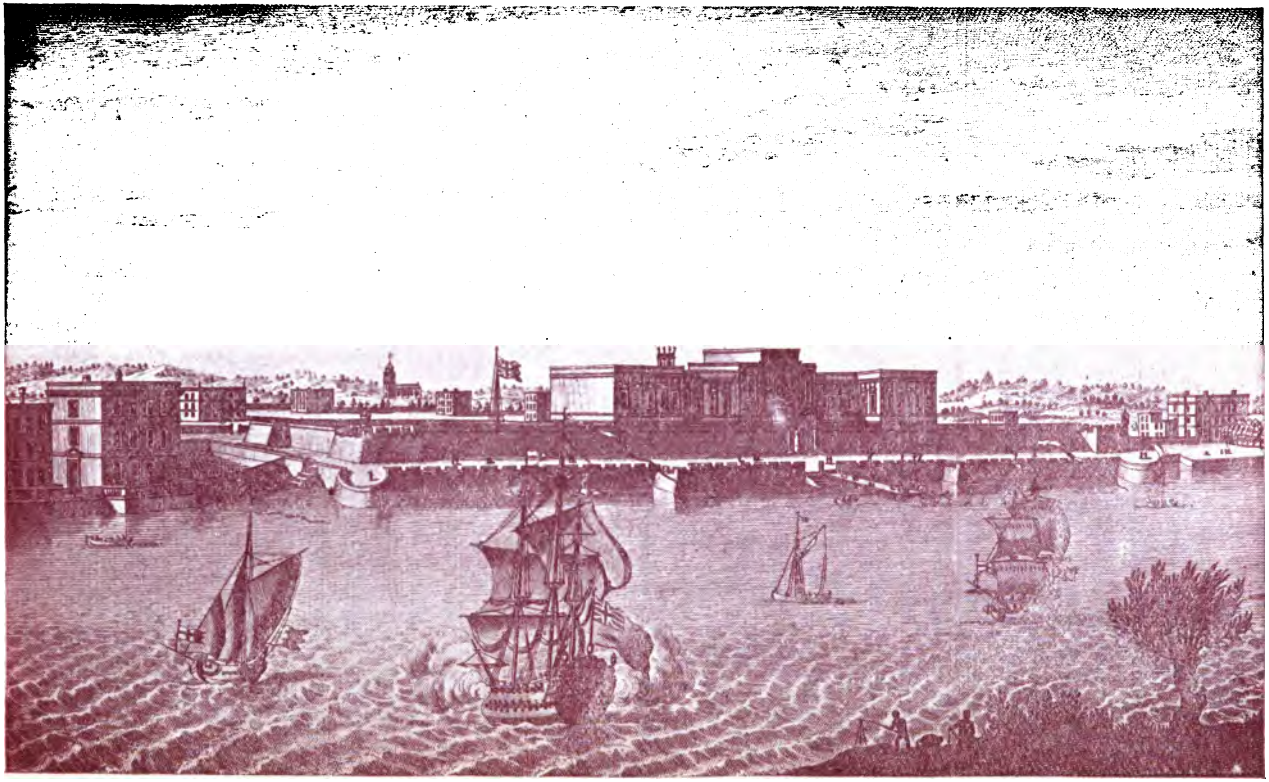
We say "with Portugal and Holland," for we must remember that the burst of new life in England in the age of Elizabeth was in a measure paralleled across the channel by the appearance of an independent, fiercely virile Holland. And the new Dutch national energy, like the English, found part of its expression in maritime and commercial enterprise. The Dutch Barentz failed as completely—though less tragically—as the English Willoughby in the attempt to reach Asia by the northeast; and the more gloriously their obstinate courage was rewarded by victories over their Spanish oppressors, the more confidently did they turn to the hope of



The City of Batavia in the Island of Java, Capital of the Dutch Factories and Settlements in the East Indies.
From an old Wood-cut.

competing with Portugal in her own seas and by the Cape route. Two patriotic Dutchmen brought to their country the necessary initial information. Cornelius Hunter, a resident for many years of Lisbon, found out—by inquiries so diligent that they brought him imprisonment at the hands of the suspicious Portuguese—all that could be learned at the capital. And his facts were supplemented by the observations of John Huyghen van Linschoten of Haarlem, who from 1583 to 1589 lived at Goa, the Portuguese capital of the Indies, in the train of the Archbishop. His accounts of India and of the routes to the East were published by the special license of the Dutch States-General, and in 1595 a squadron of four ships was sent out under Houtman himself. Avoiding the peninsula of India he sailed on to the island of Java, made a treaty with the king of Bantam, and returned home in triumph. Between 1595 and 1601 fifteen Dutch expeditions followed in the footsteps of Houtman or penetrated the Pacific by the straits of Magellan, and in 1602 was formed the Dutch East India Company.

But Linschoten's "Voyage to the East Indies" was translated into English in 1598, and the splendor of the prize—"great provinces, puissant cities, and unmeasurable islands"—was held up to the eager eyes of the countrymen of Gresham and Hawkins. "I do not doubt," runs the preface, "but yet I do most heartily pray and wish that this poor Translation may work in our English nation a further desire and increase of honor over all countries of the world by means of our Wodden Walles." It was a wish abundantly fulfilled. Linschoten's work only reinforced the impression already made by the marvels told by an English traveler, Ralph Fitch, who visited Ormuz in 1583, was taken thence as a prisoner to Goa; journeyed after his release to the court of the Mogul Emperor Akbar (where he saw a deplorable number of heathen temples and idols: "some be like a cow, some like a monkey, some like peacocks, and some like the devil"), then farther east still to Bengal, Burmah and Malacca. In 1591 he returned to England with a complete account of the wealth of the Indian trade and the weakness of the Portuguese hold



A View of Fort William in Bengal, Property of the East India Company. From an Old Engraving

on it. So the interest awakened by Fitch, renewed by Linschoten, and stimulated by every rumor of the decline of the Portuguese monopoly and the success of the Dutch in Java, Sumatra and Ceylon, was at last focussed on a definite undertaking. On September 22, 1599, an assembly of London merchants met in Founders' Hall to consider the situation. The projects for a route by either northeast or northwest, though not wholly put aside, seemed unlikely to come to anything. The Muscovy Company, which had tried since 1554 to carry on trade by an overland route through Russia, was fast realizing that the journey was too long and too expensive for profitable traffic. And the Levant Company, which had been competing with the Mediterranean merchants on their own ground with some success, was finding Turkish insolence, the greed of the Barbary pirates, and the Spanish hold on the straits of Gibraltar so vexatious and disastrous that any relief might well be welcomed. It is not surprising, therefore, that two of the most prominent men in the assembly of London merchants in Founders' Hall were among the founders of the Levant Company. Already, earlier in 1599, they had sent to the court of the Great Mogul one John Mildenhall, a merchant of London, to make preliminary negotiations for the opening up of trade with India with renewed energy and by the Cape route. And now after some days of discussion the assembly subscribed £30,133 for an initial voyage and formally requested the Queen to grant them "a privilege in succession and to incorporate them in a company, for that the trade to the Indies being so far remote from hence, cannot be traded but in a joint and a united stock."

For diplomatic reasons the consent of the government was delayed, but at last it was intimated to the leaders of the enterprise that all was well. At once a committee was appointed to arrange for the voyage. A warship of 600 tons—built to serve as a privateer and owned by the Earl of Cumberland—with three smaller ships and a pinnace were purchased and fitted out with speed, the committee providing a barrel of beer daily for the workmen so that "they leave not their

work to run to the alehouse." More than double the original capital was subscribed. And on December 31, 1600, a charter from Queen Elizabeth constituted the adventurers into "one body complete and politick, in deed and in name, by the name of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies," the purposes of the undertaking being "the Honour of our Nation, the Wealth of our People, the Increase of our Navigation, and the advancement of lawful traffic to the benefit of our Commonwealth." The charter secured to the Company for fifteen years an exclusive right to trade in all seas and countries beyond the Cape and Straits of Magellan except such as may be in the actual possession of any Christian prince "in amity with the Queen," with the necessary powers of discipline, bye-laws, and defence. Thus appropriately, in the closing years of great Elizabeth, was formed that most famous of all merchant companies, destined after a century and a half of trade to stand suddenly in dazzing splendor before the world as the conqueror of the Carnatic, of Bengal, then of all India.

Before we turn to the early struggles of the company in the East, it would be a pity not to quote the quaint, Puritanical, Elizabethan regulations issued by the Directors to their servants. At each factory, as a trading post was called, the members of the staff were to live and eat together, to meet daily for prayers, and to be in at a certain hour of night. They must be brotherly one to another ("no brabbles"), cleanly of person, respectful to superior officers and to the preacher, and careful as to their health. Blasphemy, gambling, drinking, and banqueting are sternly denounced. And all these instructions are given in a kindly, albeit an uncompromising tone, in minutes and in letters in which a strictly business detail might be followed by a grave warning against the evils of gluttony. Take these sentences from a letter of 1610. "And because there is no means more prevalent to strengthen and confirm the ways of the godly in righteousness than the spirit of God which is the guide into all good motions, and no aim more pregnant to support and uphold the sinner from falling into wickedness than the grace of God. . . . we

exhort you in the fear of God to be very careful to assemble together your whole family (*i.e.*, all the employes of the post) every morning and evening, and to join together in all humility with hearty prayer to Almighty God for his merciful protection." "Settle such modest and sober government in your own household that neither amongst themselves there be contentious quarrels or other occasions of strife." "Comport yourselves both in your habit and housekeeping in such comely and convenient manner as neither may disparage our business nor be accounted too excessive in expenses." This admirable advice was accompanied, moreover, with goodly aids to spiritual and intellectual refreshment. "For the better comfort and recreation of such of our factors as are residing in the Indies we have sent the works of that worthy servant of Christ Mr. William Perkins, together with Foxe's Book of Martyrs and Mr. Hackluit's voyages to recreate their spirits with variety of history." What could be better, surely? One's heart goes out across the three centuries to these stalwart old London merchants who so studiously chose their words in the quaintly phrased despatches. The old letter books of the Company are yellow and musty now, and yet life comes back to them quickly enough as we read words throbbing with the same spirit that we know so well in colonial New England, the spirit of indomitable Puritan strength and conviction and unshakable purpose. These founders of the East India Company were men who might have been the fathers or the neighbors of those who, a few years later, settled Plymouth and Boston.

The first ten years of the new undertaking were years of doubtful fortune. Not only was each voyage itself long and hazardous, not only was it no easy matter to take from England commodities that could be profitably exchanged for the silks and calicoes and spices of Asia, but suspicious and powerful enemies awaited with deadly intent each English ship that ventured into the Indian Ocean. On the coast of India the Portuguese still held the field, not in the old-time strength that had been theirs before the dead hand of Spain had fallen upon them, and

before the cruel poison of the Inquisition had sapped their life, but still with gallant determination to defend what was left of the heritage bequeathed to them by Da Gama and Albuquerque. And farther east, at Malacca and on the coast of Java the Dutch watchfully held the control of the trade to the Spice Islands. Behind both of these European rivals lay the native princes, and little as they might love the masterful aliens who bullied them into trade and curtailed their independence, yet they were scarcely likely to risk cruel displeasure and vengeance by giving favor to the insignificant late comers.

The first distinct conflict on the Malabar coast came in the fall of 1611, near Surat. Sir Henry Middleton with three English ships found a Portuguese squadron of twenty armed vessels lying across the mouth of the river by which the city had to be reached. Their commander, with courtesy, but with decision, informed the English captain that unless he bore letters from the King of Spain or his Viceroy he must forbid entrance. To which Middleton naturally responded that he came not to interfere with any rights of the Portuguese but to open up trade with the Great Mogul, in whose cities he had as good a right to trade as any adventurer in Christendom. But the Englishman's insistence availed little against his rival's positive orders, and a more definite step became necessary when supplies began to run short and scurvy to break out. Three ships seemed scarcely likely to break a blockade maintained by twenty, yet seamanship availed much in the shoals of that dangerous coast, and the attack that came as the English stood in toward shore was beaten off so fiercely that the attitude of the natives was determined as it was by Clive's defence of Arcot nearly a century and a half later. The sight of a prize taken triumphantly by the little force of the English under the very eyes of a six times stronger enemy convinced the discerning Indians that the hostility of the Portuguese was less dangerous than that of the new arrivals, and trade was opened at once. If doubt still remained, it was removed by the great fight of Swally, near Surat, in December, 1612. Four Portuguese

galleons, aided by twenty-six small galleys—useful for quick movement in the shallow water—tried to capture Thomas Best, commanding the Company's ship "Red Dragon" and a smaller vessel that he had with him. Day after day the armada renewed the attack, ashamed to give up the contest, and yet forced again and again to cease their onset and flee from these savage sons of the men who had fought under Drake and Howard; until at last, with sore loss in men and ships, the remainder of the squadron sailed away south to Goa, and the Mogul's soldiers who had gathered on the shore to witness the fight knew that the star of Portugal in India had set. To Best, himself, exactly a year later (December, 1613), was given the imperial decree which established an English factory at Surat,—the first definite foothold in India of the future masters of Delhi.

The victory over the Portuguese came none too soon. For disaster followed disaster in the Spice Islands, until in 1623 the Dutch seized the Company's representatives at Amboyna, tortured and executed ten of them, and drove their rivals from the field. It was indeed the great age of Holland. This business of Amboyna was murderous and shameful enough, but in the main the Dutch won in the far east because the eastern trade was to them a national enterprise, into which they threw their full strength at a time when their country was filled with the spirit of an heroic age. So they held their own in the Spice Islands, and the English returned to India, not knowing that their place of retreat held for them a destiny immeasurably greater than any petty bargain with the Dutch could have brought them in the Moluccas. Each company—Dutch and English—now held to its own field, and the defeated Portuguese clung, angry and disconsolate, to a Goa shorn of its splendor, nursing great memories of the time when their heroic captains had achieved for Europe the opening of the East. One act in the great drama of India was over.

Cortez Destroying His Fleet. From an Old Wood-cut

The Great Duel With France

WHEN Philip II sent his invincible Armada to invade England in 1588 he was unquestionably lord of the most powerful monarchy in Christendom. A century before, Spain had hardly begun to be ranked as a great power at all. A century after, she had yielded her primacy to France. It was long, indeed, before England realized that the adversary with whom she had grappled so fiercely on the Spanish Main and in the fight off Gravelines was ceasing to be dangerous. For Spain's decline was a gradual one. The wealth of Mexico and South America made her for generations the richest state in Europe,—richest, that is to say, in wealth immediately available for purposes of conquest and aggrandizement. We see now clearly enough that gold and silver are by no means the surest source of national prosperity. We know that the very use of the shiploads of bullion that came year after year from America meant a squandering of resources as absolute as the hewing down of a vast area of timber without thought of replanting. As each tree might be made an immediate source of revenue, so might each ingot of gold or silver; but as the destruction of the forest leaves a barren waste of stumps, so the draining of the Indies meant ultimate exhaustion of the supply, and worse still, the moral degeneration of the spendthrift who drew on his capital and awakened too late from the illusion that had destroyed him. All this is clear enough now, and needs little wisdom to point the moral. But during the first half of the seventeenth century Spain's gold still made her formidable, and if her fleets were yielding place to those of Holland and England, yet her naval power was not to be despised, and her soldiers were still esteemed the best equipped and the best disciplined in Europe. France was her great rival, as in the days of Charles V, but the relative strength of the combatants was no longer what it had been when the giant power of the lord of Austria, Spain, the Netherlands and the Indies struck down Francis I at Pavia. During the period when the might of Spain was at its zenith France lay almost powerless, torn in twain by the

fierce religious wars of which St. Bartholomew was only the most terrible incident. But at last in 1598, when Spain, ruined by the bigotry of Philip II and the deceptive wealth of the Indies, was well on the road to hopeless decline, her rival stood united and strong with the vigor of a healthy patriotic reaction against the disunion of the past fifty years. Under Henry of Navarre France entered upon a new era.

There are few periods to which a Frenchman untainted by extreme republicanism can look back with more patriotic satisfaction than the seventeenth ceutnry. It was not an age of developing liberty. On the contrary it saw the steady decrease of national influence on the government, and the rise of a monarchy more absolutely centralized and more perfectly organized than Europe had seen since the best days of Rome. But at the same time, under the strong, wise rule of men like Henry IV and his great co-worker Sully, the two famous Cardinals, Richelieu and Mazarin, and that master brain of all the ministers of Louis XIV, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, France grew and waxed prosperous, while her power in arms at length overshadowed that of Spain herself. The peace that closed the Thirty Years War in Germany (1648) was in effect a diplomatic triumph for France and a blow to Spain. Already on the field of Rocroi (1643) Condé had anticipated by force of arms the victory planned by the cunning brains of Richelieu and Mazarin, and in those fateful five years the military greatness of Spain sank beyond hope of resurrection. Henceforward her destiny tended more and more to be merged into that of her rival, until in the eighteenth century the alliance between the countries north and south of the Pyrenees was a familiar and permanent fact in the diplomacy of Europe,—an alliance, moreover, in which France was the controlling factor. Only fitfully and ineffectually did Spain ever again assert a claim to the glory that had been hers before the Inquisition cowed her into spiritual torpor, and her ill-gotten wealth destroyed her manhood. But France grew more formidable with every decade. Louis XIV, with all his faults, had two virtues which, joined to a never satisfied ambition and a limitless

Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, Massachusetts, 1620

across the Channel. In the New World, Germany, Holland and Austria were interested not at all. There the ambition of Louis was confronted only by the colonies of England. But behind the colonies stood the mother country, and events might well bring about such a situation that Great Britain would perforce have to arouse herself to a stern conflict or submit to a second place or none at all on the sea and in America.

Such then was the situation when England at last ended her long period of struggle, doubt, and heart-burning in the effort to reconcile her well-loved principles of monarchy with her fundamental liberties. One stage of the conflict had carried her into republicanism, an end not desired and not maintained. The next crisis, that of 1688, had a happier and more stable outcome. The departure of James II and the coming of William III inaugurated the limited monarchy of England as we know it, and the country could once more turn with a free mind to problems other than those of Parliaments and kingly prerogatives. Here then stood one such problem in full sight. The growth of France had already awakened the jealousy and anxiety of thoughtful leaders of all parties. When William of Orange was invited to take the throne, the Englishmen who sent for him knew perfectly well that they were negotiating with the man who, as the chief magistrate of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, was the bitterest and ablest of all the enemies of France. His accession to the throne of England meant at once the formation of a Grand Alliance against the ambition of Louis in which the island kingdom took the first place. So was opened in 1689 that second Hundred Years War, as Seeley has called it, which began as an effort to restore and maintain the balance of power, but which became finally a gigantic duel for empire in three continents, only ending at last on the field of Waterloo.

For a systematic study of the conflict in its European phases we have no time just now, necessary as it may be occasionally to revert to single situations that were world-wide in their significance. Rather must we turn now

definitely to America, where the most momentous part of the great struggle was to be fought out. Nowhere else in the world were the two rivals face to face in quite such an uncompromising way. Beginning their colonial experience on the same continent at almost the same time, they developed there, each colony after the manner of the race it represented. In the one grew up stalwart citizens and men of affairs like Franklin and Washington. We of English speech know them well, for they are of our own blood. In the other were men of an even more picturesque type, perhaps, a type at any rate less familiar to us,—knightly heroes like Champlain, Frontenac and La Salle, who, if they failed in their effort to plant a faithful and powerful image of old France in the New World, left us nevertheless a deathless memory of courage and constancy. Between the two peoples grew up a mortal enmity. Almost from the very infancy of the two colonies New France and New England gripped throats and fought savagely for life and power. Even in so vast a continent neither was content to own a rival or a possible superior. So supreme was the long struggle and so momentous the issue that no true American, no true Englishman has vulgarized it by a word of contempt for the conquered. No annals written by an American historian are so fascinating, so vitalized by living sympathy, as the familiar narratives that tell us the heroic tales of the Jesuit mission among the Hurons, of Champlain's voyage up the Ottawa, of wild grapples with an irreconcilable, ever watchful enemy, of the perils and romance of Ville Marie, of the self-sacrifice, the gallant courage, the loyal endurance of the brave race whom in no unequal fight our fathers fought and conquered. And in our memories of the last great conflict between the two races in America, when all our pride of blood is stirred by the glorious deeds of English and Americans fighting and winning side by side, and when we treasure every word and every movement of the conqueror of Quebec, the countrymen of Parkman have yet surely rewritten for Montcalm the noble line of Juvenal,—*Victrix causa deis placuit, victa Catoni.*

Queen Elizabeth and most of her paladins were dead before the first permanent colony was planted by Englishmen in a new world. The son of Mary Stuart was on the throne, ignoble son of a brilliant mother, and if Shakespeare and Ben Jonson and Bacon still continued the literary glory of the Elizabethan age, Raleigh alone was left of that chivalrous group of courtiers and men of action who left to the duller, greyer ages that followed a memory so full of magic life and color. It was his colony that at last in 1606 took root in the land he had named Virginia,—took root and waxed strong and manfully asserted its right to manage its own affairs before it was twenty years old. The settlers represented divers and complex motives,—thirst for actual gold, the wealth that might come from a northwest passage if, as was thought, the Western Ocean were only a little distance away, and the more practical belief that a good trade could be built up with the products of the soil. Englishmen too saw the advantage of buying from a colony what had heretofore been imported from foreign states. "What commodities soever," wrote one enthusiast, "Spaine, France, Italy, or these parts doe yield to us in wines of all sorts, in oyles, in flax, in rosens, in pitch, frankinsense, coorans, sugers, and such like, these partes doe abound with the growth of them all." And if the dearth of gold mines and the fading of the dream of a near-by Western Sea caused the abandonment of some of the early visions, if there were many dark years of misery and discouragement, yet on the whole the colony grew and prospered, and even though tobacco might take the place of "oyles and frankinsense" a good thriving traffic sprang up nevertheless, and the colony forged gallantly ahead in spite of Spanish intrigues, settlers of doubtful morals, vexatious laws and troubles with the Indians. For back of all the struggles and anxieties of those years there was hope, nay a certainty, that a great future awaited the little colony if only she could win her way through these first hard years. "Be not gulled," wrote Governor Dale in vigorous words to England, "with the clamorous reports of bad people. Believe Caleb and

Joshua. * * * I have seen the best countries of Europe; I protest unto you before the living God—put them all together, this country will be equivalent unto them, it being inhabitant with good people." And the same hope strengthened the courage of those stouthearted and worthy Englishmen who prayed "that merciful and tender God who is both easie and glad to be entreated, that it would please Him to bless and water these feeble beginnings, and that as He is wonderful in all His workes, so to nourish this graine of seed that it may spread till the people of this earth admire the greatnesse and seeke the shade and fruits thereof."*

Fourteen years after the founding of Jamestown and many hundreds of miles to the northeast, in a little ship coasting anxiously along a rocky shore, there gathered one December day in 1620 a group of grave men to put their names to a solemn covenant:

In the name of God, amen; we, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign King James, * * * having undertaken, for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furthering of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.

In this spirit was founded the colony of Plymouth, and in this spirit another group of Puritans founded Boston ten years later. In this spirit did little bands of men go forth from Massachusetts from time to time to found what we now know as the other states of New England. And the same soberness of mind, the same depth of responsibility, the same grave

*Brown, "Genesis of the United States," Vol. I.

independence of spirit permeates every act and every utterance of these strong-souled founders of this new Puritan England. Freedom, (not Rousseau's freedom, but the self-restrained liberty of Englishmen), responsibility, caution, courage of conviction,—all the typical English virtues of the sterner kind are found in these exiles. Broad minded and broad hearted kindliness, joy in the beauty and pleasures of the world were doubtless lacking; these virtues of the milder, more joyous, more generous type would be found more readily in the homes of Maryland and Virginia. For Heaven turned to the Cavalier a brighter countenance than to the Puritan. To the earnest citizen of Plymouth or Boston in these days this earthly life was a grave business, to be lightened doubtless for the younger spirits by some godly mirth and by the natural sentiments of life—Jonathan Edwards himself was no Hildebrand, nor was Cotton Mather a St. Bernard—but grave in the main nevertheless, with the commandments of the Lord, the brevity and responsibilities of life, and the fear of Hell to be kept constantly in mind. Yet the reversion to Old Testament standards which was the bane of Puritanism, and which was implied in Cotton's motto for his code of laws—"Jehovah is our Judge, Jehovah is our Lawgiver, Jehovah is our King; He will save us"—was ever balanced in the sagacious minds of the ruling spirits of the little commonwealth by the steadying influence of their race traditions. "Our government," declared the Massachusetts General Court in 1646, "is framed according to our Charter and the fundamental and common laws of England, and carried on according to the same (*taking the words of eternal truth and righteousness along with them, as that rule by which all kingdoms and jurisdictions must render account of every act and administration at the last day*"). So on these two foundation stones, the fundamental laws of England and "eternal truth and righteousness" did these earnest fellow countrymen of Hampden and Eliot try to begin the building of a structure that might endure.

Such then in essential characteristics were the English colonists in America in the seventeenth century. The whole

tendency of their life and growth was in the direction of greater freedom, greater independence, the more complete realization of the principles of Magna Charta and the Petition of Right, and this was substantially as true of Virginia as of Massachusetts. So with great variety, but with this solid basis of individual liberty and self-respect underlying all, the colonies of New England and the South grew until they had absorbed and more or less Anglicized the Dutch of New York, the Swedes of Delaware, and the Germans of Pennsylvania, and had occupied the Atlantic coast from Maine to Florida. By the middle of the eighteenth century their population numbered over a million and a half, three-fourths of whom were negro slaves, scattered along the coast and spreading inland in rapidly decreasing density to the edge of the Alleghenies. Most of the people were farmers. The only cities of any size were Philadelphia, Boston, New York and Charleston,—the largest being Philadelphia, with a population of about 25,000. Of the thirteen colonies, three were governed according to a charter (Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island), three were held by a proprietor, (Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware), and seven were controlled directly by the Crown (Virginia, the Carolinas, New York, New Hampshire, New Jersey, and Georgia), but the government of them all was practically identical, for in all there was a governor and a representative assembly, and in all the assembly held the reins of power almost as completely as does the House of Commons in modern England. Apart from commercial regulation—vexatious, but more or less taken for granted—there was little interference of any kind in England. In nearly every practical respect the American colonies, first fruits of the expansion of England, were free and independent states.

And now what of the expansion of France? Less than thirty years after the death of Columbus, Jacques Cartier of St. Malo crossed the Atlantic to the beautiful country where he was to plant the banner of the lilies. Into the Gulf of St. Lawrence and up the glorious river the Breton sailor guided his little ship until he saw outlined before him

that cape which can never be forgotten by him who once sees it,—outlines bold and defiant as Gibraltar, yet softened by touches of green to a beauty utterly unlike the hard, uncompromising grimness of the Mediterranean fortress. On still he sailed until he came to the island that lies at the mouth of the Ottawa, and here, six hundred miles from the sea, checked in his progress by the Lachine rapids, he decided to turn back. Where a great city now stands Cartier found the walled town of Hochelaga, and there the friendly Indians received the white men, implored their touch for the aged and sick, and guided them to the top of the mountain named by its discoverer Mount Royal. It is not impossible even now, looking down from the green heights over the busy city with its chimneys and its steeples and its muffled rattle and hum, to think of it as the eager Frenchman saw it,—a vast expanse of foliage, broken by the fields of maize, by the long houses of the Indians, and by the silver flood of the St. Lawrence, then more green beyond, until the distant forest melted in a line of blue hills away off to the south. It was the first survey of New France, a hundred years before the valiant Maisonneuve founded Montreal. But the time was not ripe for permanent settlement, and Cartier, like Roberval and de la Roche who came after him, was only an opener of the way to others.

Evil times came then to France, and as Catholic and Huguenot tore at each other's throats, little thought was given to the lands over seas. But the close of the century brought Henry of Navarre and peace, and in the return of national life and vigor that came then, there arose once more an interest in the domains across the Atlantic,—domains that still awaited the hero brave enough and staunch enough to break the bonds of savagery and build a Christian state in the western continent. Courage and endurance beyond the common, the task surely demanded, but a man was found equal to the need. In the spring of 1608, Samuel de Champlain, Father of New France, entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence with a commission from King Henry. Sailing past the mouth of the Saguenay, past the Isle of Bacchus,

past the beautiful falls of Montmorency, he came to the rugged cliff where Cartier had visited the Indian city of Stadacona. Five years before, he had sailed through the narrow passage between Quebec and the Heights of Levi on to Hochelaga, but now he landed, and here on the low slope between cliff and river were built the rude huts and walls of the capital of New France.

Champlain at first scarcely realized the acute questions of diplomacy and statesmanship hidden in the leafy wilderness of Canada, and as they began to arise he had to decide them with less knowledge of the savage politics of America than we have of innermost Africa. His fateful alliance with the Algonquins and Hurons against the Iroquois might have been undertaken less promptly had he been aware of the power and ferocity of the great Confederacy. But in the main we associate the name of the founder of Quebec with simple manlinesss and courage, with justice and exhaustless patience in dealing both with his restless companions and his savage allies. Under his fostering care the little colony took root, sent out explorers and missionaries, and made its influence felt as far west as Lake Huron and the boundaries of the Iroquois country. Under him, too, purity and uniformity of faith was secured by the exclusion of all heretics. So the contrast with the English colonies was made complete. The one was Catholic; the other Protestant. The one made alliances with the Indians and sought to create a league which might secure the friendship of all the Canadian tribes and the destruction of the Iroquois; the other held sternly aloof from savage entanglements, and later on only half-heartedly accepted the alliance even of the Six Nations. New France neglected agriculture, threw her energy into the fur trade, penetrated the interior, planted trading posts and forts at countless strategic points, and trusted to the mother country for provisions and for a market; New England sent out explorers rarely and with hesitation, paid but indifferent attention to the fur trade, cleared the land, cultivated the soil and depended on the home island for the conveniences of

life, not its necessaries. In her own way, then, reflecting old France in her faith, her boldness, her high-hearted enterprise, her chivalry, her contempt for the Philistine virtues of the Massachusetts farmer or the Virginia planter, Canada grew and ever took a firmer grip on the soil which she was winning by the heroism of her pioneers and watering with the blood of her martyrs.

One other element in the situation, and this a fundamental one, must be noted now before we come to the definite conflict between the two races. We have already seen the democratic spirit, the determined individualism of the English colonies. They reflected and continued, as was inevitable, the deepest tendencies of their race. In just such measure was New France the reflection of the society and the monarchy—then at the height of their glory—which yet bore in them the seeds of death, and were to perish in ghastly ruin only a century after the great deeds of Frontenac and La Salle. In the new world as in the old were found seigneurs and vassals. In the new world as in the old was popular initiative held sternly down. As Richelieu and Colbert labored to build France into a military despotism, effective and benevolent, but absolutely centralized, so did their representatives make Canada a military unit, reflecting the centralization, the social divisions of the mother land. The States-General, the ancient representative assembly of France, had met last in 1614. It was not to be summoned again until the eve of the Revolution. But Count Frontenac, greatest of all the governors of New France, thought it best to summon a miniature States-General at Quebec, and did so in the autumn of 1672. His admonition on the subject from Colbert sufficiently shows the attitude of the government at home:

The assembling and division of all the inhabitants into three orders or estates which you have done for the purpose of having them take the oath of fidelity, may have been productive of good just then. But is is well for you to observe that you are always to follow, in the government and management of that country, the forms in force here; and as our kings have considered it for a long time advantageous

Champlain's Attack on Indian Fort in Western New York

to their service not to assemble the States-General of their kingdom, with a view perhaps to abolish insensibly that ancient form, you likewise ought rarely, or (to speak more correctly) never, give that form to the corporate body of the inhabitants of that country.

That is to say, autocracy was to prevail in the new world as in the old. Even the relics of feudalism, while in form they were to be transplanted over the seas, were yet to be subordinated more completely to the central authority. Lords and vassals alike were to form part of a political and military machine such as Colbert was striving with all the force of his genius to create in France. At home the prejudices and privileges of ages, the suspicion and wealth of a great middle class, the jealousy and power of the Church and the nobility made absolute centralization impossible. In America there were no such obstacles. As De Tocqueville acutely remarked, the system of Louis XIV in its merits and its defects may be best studied not in France but in Canada.

Old France was divided for purposes of administration into thirty-five généralités or intendances, each cared for by a governor—as the military head of the district—and an Intendant, whose duties covered every conceivable interest in which a paternal government can possibly interfere with its children. So it was in Canada. New France was simply made an ideal généralité. Her governor protected her from the Indians, and marshalled her resources for the great duel with the English. The Intendant nursed the fur trade, collected and disbursed the revenues, and watched over the material welfare of the colony. The genius and aims of Colbert were ideally reflected in the great Intendant Talon. The potential evils and corruption of the system were illustrated by the infamous Bigot. But in any case, for good or evil, Canada was the faithful copy of a military despotism—united, energetic, high-spirited, but utterly lacking in the abundant life, the reserve force, the possibilities of indefinite and irresistible expansion that lay in the divided, quarrelsome, but independent and liberty-loving colonies to the south.

Long before King William formed the Grand Alliance against Louis XIV the coming war between New France and New England was foreseen by the keen-eyed rulers of Quebec. For a brief period about the middle of the seventeenth century the destruction of the Hurons (1648) and the increased danger from the Iroquois after they began to purchase arms from the Dutch on the Hudson caused exploration to languish. But during Talon's tenure of the office of Intendant fur-traders and explorers crept farther and farther west until they could bring news of the copper mines of Lake Superior, and believed themselves to be not more than three hundred leagues from the Vermilion Sea, or fifteen hundred from China. Interested as the Intendant was in trade and its extension, his reports are more than commercial bulletins. Already the design was taking shape at Quebec to penetrate west and south until connection might be made with the Gulf of Mexico. Eleven years before the great voyage of La Salle, Daumont de Saint Lusson, with

due formality of hymns, the planting of a cross, and the fixing of a plate engraved with the arms of France, took formal possession at Sault Ste. Marie of the Great West:

In the name of the Most High, Mighty, and Redoubted Monarch, Louis, Fourteenth of that name, Most Christian King of France and of Navarre, I take possession of this place, Sainte Marie du Saut, as also of Lakes Huron and Superior, the Island of Manitoulin, and all countries, lakes, rivers, and streams contiguous and adjacent thereto,—both those which have been discovered and those which may be discovered hereafter, in all their length and breadth, bounded on the one side by the seas of the North and of the West, and on the other by the South Sea, etc. etc.

And these were no mere high sounding words. The voyages of Joliet, Marquette and La Salle confirmed the foresight of Talon. The Great Lakes and the Mississippi valley were annexed by virtue, not of chance discovery but of keen statesmanship and heroic enterprise. And with the administration of Frontenac began in earnest the building of the chain of fortresses which was to hem in the English and secure for France three-quarters of the American continent.

When the seventeenth century closed the war was well begun. In 1690 the English had made their second* attempt to take Quebec, and had been foiled by the fiery courage of Frontenac. All along the frontier blazing villages and roving war parties told of the beginning of the bitter fight for supremacy between two races who had thrown away the thought of compromise. And not merely the main issue but the strategy of the war soon became clear. The interior of North America was accessible by a very few clearly marked paths. There were two great waterways, the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. Both were in the hands of France. There was a third river, the Hudson, which reached at least part of the way into the interior and which was controlled by the English. From its headwaters one could cross easily to Lake George and Lake Champlain, or penetrate the woods

*The first was the successful one of Kirke in 1629, resulting in a brief English occupation of the fortress. It was restored to France by treaty .

by a well-known Indian road to Lake Ontario. But the Lake Champlain route was blocked by Crown Point and Ticonderoga. If the English did succeed in reaching Lake Ontario and building Oswego there, they were still prevented from further progress by Fort Frontenac and Fort Niagara at the two ends of the Lake. Still another highway remained. From Virginia and Pennsylvania one could take a straight road through the Blue Ridge and the Alleghenies along the passes now marked by the Baltimore and Ohio and the Pennsylvania Railroads, connect with the Ohio, and so reach the Mississippi and the West. Here indeed Dinwiddie and Washington with their Virginians almost thrust a wedge into the French line. But the energy of the leaders was ill supported by the cautious and jealous colonists. A sharp passage of arms left the French triumphant, and just where the full flood of the Ohio begins Duquesne planted in 1754 the fort which he hoped would prove the final bar to the western expension of the English. So here lay the situation: Quebec, Ticonderoga, Frontenac, Niagara, Duquesne, represented so many locked gateways. Before English expansion would be possible these must be forced. Sixty or seventy thousand Frenchmen were seeking to restrain within the limits of the Atlantic seaboard twenty times their number of Englishmen. Unity, skilful leadership, military spirit, and the alliance of countless Indian tribes gave France first possession of the field and an advantage throughout that almost counterbalanced her rival's weight of numbers. And so matters stood when the final death grapple began with Braddock's march in 1755.

In one sense we have just begun our story, and yet here we close it. To tell the details of the first blunders and failures, and then tell how William Pitt came to power with his dauntless courage, his gift of inspiring others to glorious achievements; how his commanders came out to replace men of the stamp of Braddock and Louden; how after two terrible years of frontier war during which bushrangers burned and ravaged and the colonists lost even the vantage points they had gained the tide began to turn; how Forbes and Howe,

Amherst and Wolfe broke barrier after barrier; how there came at last that glorious and terrible September morning in 1759 when the dying Wolfe heard the cries of victory ringing in his ears that sounded the knell of France's empire in the New World—all these things have been told many times and may be learned in any school book. We have tried rather to see what was the issue of the conflict, what were the ideals of the combatants, what it meant to the world that the expansion of the French race in America should be checked and that of the English permitted to go on in full tide. Not that the duel with France was over with the fall of Quebec. The defeated Power was able to strike a fierce blow at the victor twenty years later, and for a moment in the day of Napoleon there was a possibility once more of a French Louisiana. Yet the critical years of the conflict were those that lay between Washington's skirmish at Great Meadows and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham. Then it was that the vast continent for which Spaniard and Frenchman and Englishman had dreamed and fought and suffered passed irrevocably to the restless, stubborn, free-born countrymen of Raleigh and the Pilgrim Fathers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

References for "The Beginning of England's Sea Power":—Julien Corbett's Drake, and on a larger scale his Drake and the Tudor Navy; Froude's Spanish Story of the Armada, and English Seamen of the Sixteenth Century; for good, brief surveys of the reign of Elizabeth are Creighton's Age of Elizabeth and Beesly's Elizabeth, and for those who find Hakluyt's Voyages inaccessible Payne's Voyages of Elizabethan Seamen, an excellent collection of extracts, will be well worth while.

References for "The Opening of the East":—For a general survey of the subject the best book, beyond all comparison, is Hunter's History of British India, Vol. I, and on a smaller scale the same author's Brief History of the Indian Peoples and The Indian Empire are most valuable; for the Portuguese in India Beazley's Henry the Navigator and H. Morse Stephens' Albuquerque ought to be read; for the Dutch there is almost nothing in English, except the admirable chapters in Hunter's British India.

References for "The Great Duel with France":—There are no better books to be read in connection with this subject than the works of Parkman, especially Montcalm and Wolf. See also Seely's Expansion of England and Egerton's History of the British Colonial Policy.

REVIEW QUESTIONS.

"THE BEGINNING OF ENGLAND'S SEA POWER."

1. How did the English Empire of Henry II's time lack centralization? 2. Show how narrow were England's interests up to the time of the Tudors. 3. Describe the awakening of Europe at the time of the Renaissance. 4. In what respect did England seem to fall behind other European nations? 5. How did Europe look upon the New World? 6. How did the nations exploit each other on the high seas? 7. Why did England and Spain drift into bitter hostility? 8. What is the significance of the year 1588? 9. Describe Frobisher's expedition to Greenland. 10. What change in England's outlook was shown by such expeditions as these? 11. What kinds of foes did England's seamen encounter? 12. Describe Hawkins' experience with the Spaniards at Vera Cruz. 13. Give an account of Drake's visit to Panama. 14. What is the significance of the voyages of this period?

"THE OPENING OF THE EAST."

1. How was Elizabethan England greater than the larger realm of Edward III or Henry V? 2. Through what agencies has the modern English Empire arisen? 3. How recent is the creation of this Empire? 4. Why were the English not among the earliest European explorers? 5. What were the three early highways between Europe and India? 6. How were they closed to Europe? 7. Describe the exploration of the African coast. 8. How large a section of India was that occupied by the Portuguese? 9. How was the genius of Albuquerque shown? 10. Show how Spain and Portugal had conflicting claims to their new world discoveries. 11. Where did England's opportunity come in? 12. What tragic attempt was made at a northeast passage? 13. What four important events at this time shaped European affairs? 14. How did Holland show her commercial spirit? 15. Describe the organization of the East India Company.

"THE GREAT DUEL WITH FRANCE."

1. In what did Spain's wealth consist at the height of her power? 2. Show how her prosperity declined. 3. How did France attain her eminence in the seventeenth century? 4. What elements of strength had Louis XIV? 5. What plans of Empire did Louis XIV cherish? 6. Why was the accession of William III an event of very great significance to England? 7. What was the character of the men who represented the two rival nations in the new world? 8. What was the nature of Raleigh's colony in America? 9. In what spirit was the Plymouth colony founded? 10. What common qualities had both colonies? 11. How large were these colonies by the middle of the eighteenth century?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

1. How did Henry II become master of half France? 2. Who were the Tudor sovereigns of England? 3. Who was Colet? 4. Erasmus? 5. Thomas More? 6. Who was Lorenzo of Florence? 7. How did Portugal secure Brazil? 8. On what occasion did Elizabeth exclaim "No war, no war, my lords!". 9. Where is Deptford? 10. What is the origin of the term the "Spanish Main"? 11. What is the meaning of Levant? 12. What capital in this country is named for a Portuguese explorer?

End of October Required Reading, pages 17-80.

The Death of General Wolfe, from the Famous Painting by Benjamin West

The Last Fight of the Revenge

Those who are familiar with Tennyson's great ballad of "The Revenge" will be interested in reading the following account written by Sir Walter Raleigh, himself a great sea-fighter, of one of the greatest naval battles in the history of the world. The combat had no especial significance, strategically or politically; it was but one and the greatest of that series of sea fights by which England broke the power of Spain. From the point of view of sane warfare it was reckless and even fool-hardy but it has furnished one of the most thrilling examples in history of a hopeless battle waged in the face of overwhelming numbers.

Sir Walter Raleigh's account is the basis of Tennyson's great poem, and although the English is old-fashioned, not always plain at first glance, yet it is always vigorous and vivid and somehow between the lines one gets a finer picture than any mere word-painting could give.

The battle of the *Revenge* was, as the account states, the fight of one ship with fifty-three; and it was, in a way, a bit theatrical as many of the Elizabethan exploits were. The men themselves played with an eye to the gallery and Sir Richard Grenville's last words indicate sufficiently well that he was aware of his own heroism. And yet, for all that, he is none the less truly heroic.

Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind; for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, that has fought for his country, Queen, religion and honor. Wherefore my soul most joyfully departeth out of this body and shall always leave behind it an everlasting fame of a valiant and true soldier; that hath done his duty as he was bound to do . . .

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S ACCOUNT

The Lord Thomas Howard, with six of her Majesty's ships, six victualers of London, the bark *Raleigh,* and two or three pinnaces riding at anchor near unto Flores, one of the westerly islands of the Azores, the last of August in the afternoon, had intelligence by one Captain Middleton, of the approach of the Spanish Armada, which Middleton being in a very good sailer, had kept them company three days before, of good purpose, both to discover their forces the more as also to give advice to my Lord Thomas of their approach. He had no sooner delivered the news but the fleet was in sight; many of our ships' companies were on shore in the island; some providing ballast for their ships; others filling of water and refreshing themselves from the land with such things as they could either for money, or by force recover. By reason whereof our ships being all pestered and rummaging everything out of order, very light for want of ballast. And that which was most to our disadvantage, the one-half part of the men of every ship sick, and utterly unserviceable. For in the *Revenge* there were ninety diseased; in the *Bonaventure,* not so many in health as could handle her main sail. For had not twenty men been taken out of a bark of Sir George Caryes, his being commanded to be sunk, and those appointed to her, she had hardly ever recovered England. The rest for the most part were in little better state. The names of her Majesty's ships were these as follows: The *Defiance,* which was Admiral, the *Revenge,* vice-Admiral; the *Bonaventure,* commanded by Captain Cross; the *Lion,* by George Fenner; the *Foresight,* by M. Thomas Vavisor, and the *Crane,* by Duffield. The *Foresight* and the *Crane* being but small ships, only the other were of the middle size; the rest, besides the bark *Raleigh,* commanded by Captain Thin, were victualers, and of small force or none. The Spanish fleet having shrouded their approach by reason of the island, were now so soon at hand, as our ships had scarce time to weigh their anchors, but some of them were driven to let slip their cables and set sail. Sir Richard Grenville was the last weighed, to recover

the men that were upon the island, which otherwise had been lost. The Lord Thomas with the rest very hardly recovered the wind, which Sir Richard Grenville not being able to do, was persuaded by the master and others to cut his main sail, and cast about, and to trust to the sailing of his ship; for the squadron of Seville were on his weather bow. But Sir Richard utterly refused to turn from the enemy, alleging that he would rather choose to die, than to dishonor himself, his country, and her Majesty's ship, persuading his company that he would pass through the two squadrons, in despite of them; and enforce those of Seville to give him way. Which he performed upon divers of the foremost, who as the mariners term it, sprang their luff and fell under the lee of the *Revenge.* But the other course had been the better, and might right well have been answered in so great an impossibility of prevailing. Notwithstanding out of the greatness of his mind, he could not be persuaded. In the meanwhile, as he attended those which were nearest him, the great *San Philip* being in the wind of him, and coming towards him, becalmed his sails in such sort, as the ship could neither weigh nor feel the helm; so huge and high charged was the Spanish ship, being of a thousand and five hundred tons. Who afterlaid the *Revenge* aboard. When he was thus bereft of his sails, the ships that were under his lee luffing up, also laid him aboard; of which the next was the Admiral of the *Biscaines,* a very mighty and puissant ship commanded by Brittan Dona. The said *Philip* carried three tiers of ordnance on a side, and eleven pieces in every tier. She shot eight forth right out of her chase, besides those of her stern ports.

After the *Revenge* was entangled with this *Philip,* four other boarded her; two on her larboard, and two on her starboard. The fight thus beginning at three of the clock in the afternoon, continued very terrible all the evening. But the great *San Philip* having received the lower tier of the *Revenge,* discharged with cross-bar shot, shifted herself with all diligence from her sides, utterly misliking her first entertainment. Some say that the ship foundered but we cannot

report it for truth, unless we were assured. The Spanish ships were filled with companies of soldiers, in some two hundred besides the mariners; in some five, in others eight hundred. In ours there were none at all, besides the mariners, but the servants of the commanders and some few voluntary gentlemen only. After many interchanged volleys of great ordnance and small shot, the Spaniards deliberated to enter the *Revenge* and made divers attempts, hoping to force her by the multitudes of their armed soldiers and musketeers, but were still repulsed again and again, and at all times beaten back, into their own ships, or into the seas. In the beginning of the fight, the *George Noble* of London, having received some shot through her by the Armados, fell under the lee of the *Revenge,* and asked Sir Richard what he would command him, being but one of the victualers and of small force; Sir Richard bid him save himself, and leave him to his fortune. After the fight had thus without intermission, continued while the day lasted and some hours of the night, many of our men were slain and hurt, and one of the great galleons of the Armada, and the Admiral of the Hulkes both sunk, and in many other of the Spanish ships great slaughter was made. Some write that Sir Richard was very dangerously hurt almost in the beginning of the fight, and lay speechless for a time ere he recovered. But two of the *Revenge's* own company, brought home in a ship of line from the islands examined by some of the Lords, and others, affirmed that he was never so wounded as that he forsook the upper deck, till an hour before midnight; and then being shot into the body with a musket as he was addressing, was again shot in the head, and withal his surgeon wounded unto death. This agrees also with an examination taken by Sir Francis Godolphin, of four other mariners of the same ship being returned, which examination, the said Sir Francis sent unto Master William Killigrue, of her Majesty's Privy Chamber.

But to return to the fight, the Spanish ships which attempted to board the *Revenge,* as they were wounded and beaten off, so always others came in their places, she having

never less than two mighty galleons by her sides, and aboard her. So that ere the morning from three of the clock the day before, there had fifteen several Armados assailed her; and all so ill approved their entertainment as they were by the break of day, far more willing to hearken to a composition, [understanding] than hastily to make any more assaults or entries. But as the day increased, so our men decreased, and as the light grew more and more, by so much more grew our discomforts. For none appeared in sight but enemies, saving one small ship called the *Pilgrim*, commanded by Jacob Whiddon, who hovered all night to see the success; but in the morning bearing with the *Revenge*, was hunted like a hare amongst many ravenous hounds, but escaped.

All the powder of the *Revenge* to the last barrel was now spent, all her pikes broken, forty of her best men slain, and the most part of the rest hurt. In the beginning of the fight she had but one hundred free from sickness, and fourscore and ten sick, lay in hold upon the ballast. A small troop to man such a ship, and a weak garrison to resist so mighty an army. By those hundred all was sustained, the volleys, boardings, and enterings of fifteen ships of war, besides those which beat her at large. On the contrary, the Spanish were always supplied with soldiers brought from every squadron: all manner of armes and powder at will. Unto ours there remained no comfort at all, no hope, no supply either of ships, men, or weapons; the masts all beaten over board, all her tackle cut asunder, her upper works altogether razed, and in effect evened she was with the water, (being) but the very foundation or bottom of a ship, nothing being left over head either for flight or defense. Sir Richard finding himself in this distress, and unable any longer to make resistance, having endured in this fifteen hours fight, the assault of fifteen several Armados, all by turns aboard him, and by estimation eight hundred shot of great artillery besides many assaults and entries. And that himself and the ship must needs be possessed by the enemy, who were now all cast in a ring round about him; the *Revenge* not able to

move one way or other, but as she was moved with the waves and billows of the sea, commanded the master gunner, whom he knew to be a most resolute man, to split and sink the ship, that thereby nothing might remain of glory or victory of the Spaniards, seeing in so many hours' fight, and with so great a navy they were not able to take her, having had fifteen hours' time, fifteen thousand men, and fifty and three sail of men of war to perform it withal. And persuaded the company, or as many as he could induce to yield themselves unto God, and to the mercy of none else; but as they had like valiant resolute men, repulsed so many enemies, they should not now shorten the honor of their nation, by prolonging their own lives for a few hours or a few days. The master gunner readily condescended and divers others; but the captain and the master were of another opinion, and besought Sir Richard to have care of them: alleging that the Spaniard would be as ready to entertain a composition as they were willing to offer the same: and that there being divers sufficient and valiant men yet living, and whose wounds were not mortal, they might do their country and prince acceptable service hereafter. And (that where Sir Richard had alleged that the Spaniards should never glory to have taken one ship of her Majesty's, seeing that they had so long and so notably defended themselves) they answered that the ship had six foot water in hold, three shot under water which were so weakly stopped as with the first working of the sea, she must needs sink, and was besides so crushed and bruised, as she could never be removed out of the place.

And as the matter was thus in dispute, and Sir Richard refusing to hearken to any of those reasons, the master of the *Revenge* (while the Captain won unto him the greater party) was conveyed aboard the General Don Alonso Bassan. Who finding none over-hasty to enter the *Revenge* again, doubting lest Sir Richard would have blown them up and himself, and perceiving by the report of the master of the *Revenge* his dangerous disposition, yielded that all their lives should be saved, the company sent for England, and the

better sort to pay such reasonable ransom as their estate would bear, and in the mean season to be free from galley or imprisonment. To this he so much the rather condescended as well is I have said for fear of further loss and mischief to themselves, as also for the desire he had to recover Sir Richard Grenville, whom for his notable value he seemed greatly to honor and admire.

When this answer was returned, and that safety of life was promised, the common sort being now at the end of their peril, the most drew back from Sir Richard and the master gunner, being no hard matter to disuade men from death to life. The master gunner finding himself and Sir Richard thus prevented and mastered by the greater number, would have slain himself with a sword, had he not been by force withheld and locked into his cabin. Then the General sent many boats aboard the *Revenge,* and divers of our men fearing Sir Richard's disposition, stole away aboard the General and other ships. Sir Richard thus overmatched, was sent unto by Alonso Bassan to remove out of the *Revenge,* the ship being marvelous unsavory, filled with blood and bodies of dead, and wounded men like a slaughter house. Sir Richard answered that he might do with his body what he list, for he esteemed it not, and as he was carried out of the ship he swooned, and reviving again desired the company to pray for him. The General used Sir Richard with all humanity, and left nothing unattempted that tended to his recovery, highly commending his valor and worthiness, and greatly bewailed the danger wherein he was, being unto them a rare spectacle, and a resolution seldom approved, to see one ship turn toward so many enemies, to endure the charge and boarding of so many huge Armados, and to resist and repel the assault and entries of so many soldiers. All which and more is confirmed by a Spanish Captain of the same Armada, and a present actor in the fight, who being severed from the rest in a storm, was by the *Lyon* of London a small ship taken, and is now a prisoner in London.

The Admiral of the Hulkes and the *Ascension* of Seville

were both sunk by the side of the *Revenge;* one other recovered the road to Saint Michels, and sunk also there; a fourth ran herself with the shore to save her men. Sir Richard died as it is said, the second or third day aboard the General, and was by them greatly bewailed. What became of his body, whether it was buried in the sea or on the land we know not; the comfort that remaineth to his friends is, that he hath ended his life honorably in respect of the reputation won to his nation and country, and of the same to his posterity, and that being dead, he hath not outlived his own honor.

For the rest of her Majesty's ships that entered not so far into the fight as the *Revenge*, the reasons and causes were these. There were of them but six in all, whereof two but small ships; the *Revenge* engaged past recovery: The Island of Flores was on the one side, fifty-three sail of the Spanish, divided into squadrons on the other, all as full filled with soldiers as they could contain. Almost the one-half of our men sick and not able to serve, the ships grown foul, unrummaged, and scarcely able to bear any sail for want of ballast, having been six months the sea before. If all the rest had entered, all had been lost. For the very hugeness of the Spanish fleet, if no other violence had been offered, would have crushed them into shivers. Of which the dishonor and loss to the Queen had been far greater than the spoil or harm that the enemy could any way have received. Notwithstanding it is very true, that the Lord Thomas would have entered between the squadrons, but the rest would not condescend; and the master of his own ship offered to leap into the sea, rather than to conduct that her Majesty's ship and the rest to be a prey to the enemy, where there was no hope nor possibility either of defense or victory. Which also in my opinion had ill-sorted or answered the discretion and trust of a General, to commit himself and his charge to an assured destruction, without hope of any likelihood of preventing, thereby to diminish the strength of her Majesty's Navy, and to enrich the pride and glory of the enemy. The *Foresight* of the Queen's command by M. Th. Vavisor, performed a very great fight, and stayed two

hours as near the *Revenge* as the weather would permit him, not forsaking the fight, till he was like to be encompassed by the squadrons, and with great difficulty cleared himself. The rest gave divers volleys of shot, and entered as far as the place permitted and their own necessities, to keep the weather gage of the enemy, until they were parted by night. A few days after the fight was ended, and the English prisoners dispersed into the Spanish and India ships, there arose so great a storm from the West and Northwest, that all the fleet was dispersed, as well the Indian fleet which were then come unto them as the rest of the Armada that attended their arrival, of which fourteen sail together with the *Revenge,* and in her two hundred Spaniards, were cast away upon the Isle of St. Michels. So it pleased them to honor the burial of that renowned ship the *Revenge,* not suffering her to perish alone, for the great honor she achieved in her life time.

Thus it hath pleased God to fight for us, and to defend the justice of our cause, against the ambitious and bloody pretenses of the Spaniard, who seeking to devour all nations, are themselves devoured. A manifest testimony how unjust and displeasing their attempts are in the sight of God, who hath pleased to witness by the success of their affairs his dislike of their bloody and injurious designs, purposed and practiced against all Christian princes, over whom they seek unlawful and ungodly rule and empery.

The Land of Nowhere

By Dr. George E. Vincent

Professor of Sociology in the University of Chicago.

THOMAS More, scholar of the "new learning," accomplished courtier, urbane gentleman, Lord Chancellor of England, loyal subject and devoted churchman looking with keen and sympathetic eye into the life of his time, dreamed of a fair land in which all the evils of his own day found no place—an enchanted island. where men lived happy and contented amidst prosperity and peace.

The last years of Henry VII and the reign of Henry VIII saw a sad, rather than a "merrie" England. The demand for sheep culture had turned farming lands into pastures, dispossessing the tenant farmers; soldiers returned from foreign wars were discharged into idleness and poverty; the dispersed retinues of bankrupt nobles were frequently added to the vagrant population. Such conditions gave rise to widespread vice and crime. The law punished with heartless cruelty. Capital punishment was extended to over fifty forms of offense. The monarchy itself, especially under Henry VII, was corrupt and oppressive. Taxes were "farmed" by unscrupulous contractors; the coinage was frequently debased; Parliament was forced into granting unnecessary subsidies to the Crown; favoritism and injustice were to be found on every hand. In international dealings, deceit and treachery were the approved devices of diplomacy. It was from the darkness of this period that More gazed fondly toward the land of Utopia.

More was a favorite in the Court of Henry VIII. His loyalty to his monarch was unswerving; although he refused a place in the Royal Council, saying by way of explanation, "All that I would be able to do would be to preserve myself from being mad while I endeavored to cure the madness of others. For if I speak truth I must repeat what I have said. * * * and as for lying, whether a philosopher can do it or not I cannot tell, I am sure I cannot do it."

When Henry VIII demanded the allegiance of his followers in withdrawing the English church from the See of Rome, More refused on conscientious grounds to take the oath of supremacy. He remained faithful to the Pope and gave his life upon the block as pledge of his devotion to conscience.

The Utopia was written in Latin in the years 1515 and 1516. The first book was written last to serve as an introduction to the second and indirectly to explain more fully the reasons why More could not accept a place in the King's Council. It describes vividly the evil conditions of the times, pointing out the economic and social causes underlying the deplorable state of English life. The second book describes the ideal country known as Utopia.

The literary device is simple. More is represented as meeting in Antwerp a Raphael Hithlodaye, a traveling-companion of Americus Vespucius, who, during one of his voyages had come upon a strange land, the institutions and life of which he describes to the English diplomat. More sits by listening with interest, now and then asking questions, sometimes smiling with humorous incredulity, again commenting approvingly upon some feature of the story.

Utopia, it seems, was an island with a single harbor whose entrance was easily guarded and controlled. The population lived in fifty-four districts each of which was an agricultural area surrounding a town. The people lived in patriarchal family groups, each family through its vote having a share in the election of officers, who, in turn, selected their superiors. The government was therefore essentially republican. Amaurot was the capital of Utopia. Here the princes gathered in legislative council and here lived the chief executive of the commonwealth.

The municipal arrangements of Amaurot, were full of interesting suggestions. To realize their significance one must recall the wretched houses, the narrow, unsavory streets, the utterly insanitary, disease-breeding London of More's time. Amaurot had an adequate supply of pure water distributed to houses through pipes; the buildings themselves were of brick or stucco built in uniform style and pre-

senting effective street vistas, an achievement realized at last in modern Paris and in the cities which have imitated her. Private dwellings had each its flower garden, and the streets and quarters of the city were in friendly rivalry as to which should be most beautiful—a device which our improvement associations have recently begun to employ. In Amaurot, although not yet in Chicago, slaughter houses were banished from the city limits, and even in their enforced retreat the utmost cleanliness was insisted upon. In beautiful suburban gardens public hospitals well equipped and supplied with physicians and nurses received and cared for the sick. So attractive were these places that the report says, "There is scarce one in a whole town that if he should fall ill, would not choose rather to go thither, than lie sick at home,"—a state of rationality which is only beginning to appear in a generation which still so largely insists upon having its sick nursed by incompetent "loved ones at home." Handsome public halls, with dining-rooms for each thirty families, crêches for the care of young children and rest-rooms for women, all under public auspices, were some of the institutions startling in More's time, but becoming each year less "utopian" to the present generation. The Utopians anticipated some of the features of Chautauqua in providing public orchestral concerts, public lectures, and schools open to all citizens.

In inventions and mechanical appliances the Utopians were resourceful. For example, "They breed an indefinite number of chickens in a very curious manner, for the hens do not sit and hatch them but vast numbers of eggs are laid in a gentle and equal heat in order to be hatched, and they are no sooner out of the shell and able to stir about but they seem to consider those that feed them as their mothers and follow them as other chickens do the hen that hatched them." They had swinging doors, flat roofs covered with cement, and they filled their windows with glass or covered them with a thin, oiled linen.

The economic principles and practices of Utopia reflected the communistic dream which ever lures men with

the hope that brotherhood will take the place of strife. By permitting no idlers save learned men, by banishing fashion, by vigilant maintenance of houses and tools in the best repair, the Utopians greatly increased their industrial efficiency and reduced the working day to six hours. This period was subject to further reduction whenever the supply of goods began seriously to exceed the public demands. Any surplus labor was expended on the highways. "The magistrates never engaged the people in unnecessary labor, since the chief end of the constitution is to regulate labor by the necessities of the public and to allow all the people as much time as is necessary for the improvement of their minds, in which they think the happiness of life consists."

The problem of labor distribution was easily solved in the commonwealth of Nowhere. City families were called on for service in the harvest fields so that sometimes the crops were gathered in a single day. The antagonism between country and city folk disappeared because there was an annual exchange of residence between urban and rural people.

Perhaps the argument for communistic production has never been more effectively put than in this paragraph from More's dream, "Where no man has any property all men zealously pursue the good of the public. And indeed it is no wonder to see men act so differently for in other commonwealths every man knows that unless he provides for himself, how flourishing soever the commonwealth may be, he must die of hunger, so that he sees the necessity of preferring his own concerns to the public, but in Utopia where every man has a right to everything we all know that if care is taken to keep the public stores full, no private man can want anything, for among them there is no unequal distribution, so that no man is poor, none in necessity."

The surplus production of the Utopians was sent to foreign countries, a part for free distribution, and a part for investment against the time of need. At home there was free distribution through the depots where citizens were supplied without question for, as the argument runs—"There is no danger of a man's asking for more than he needs; they

have no inducement to do this since they are sure that they shall always be supplied. It is the fear of want that makes any of the whole race of animals either greedy or ravenous." Many features of the Utopia seem to the contemporary reader curiously modern but these communistic ideals with their appeal to brotherhood and coöperation rather than to individual gain seem today, almost, if not quite, as elusive as they must have seemed to the subjects of Henry VIII.

The Utopians were governed not so much by laws as by the force of public opinion. Fashions were dispensed with and painting the face was regarded as infamous. Citizens ridiculed people who prided themselves on fine clothes and ceremonious manners. "Will the bending of any man's knees give ease to yours, and will his head being bare cure the madness of yours." Utopia's husbands were not free to go abroad without the permission of their wives as well as of the magistrates, and when men did travel they were compelled to render their day's service in whatever part of the land they might find themselves. The citizens of Amaurot were contemptuous of hunting and gaming. They could see no difference between the killing of innocent animals and the practice of butchery. They tended the sick carefully in hospitals, but incurable patients were permitted to choose between painless death and the continuance of suffering—a choice which, from time to time modern men here and there propose to offer to the hopelessly diseased.

In Utopia gold and silver and jewels were regarded as childish. The meanest utensils and playthings were made of these materials, precious to other men. Here the office had to seek the man. "If any man aspires to any office, he is sure never to compass it." Divorces were permitted in Utopia, but the guilty were not allowed to re-marry, another proposal which has a modern ring about it. Unlike their neighbors, the Utopians always kept faith in their treaties or agreements. This paragraph sounds curiously like a report of a contemporary international peace conference—"They . . . judge that no man is to be esteemed our

enemy that has never injured us; and that the partnership of the human nature is, instead of a league; and that kindness and good nature unto men hold more effectually and with greater strength than any arguments whatsoever, since thereby the engagements of men's hearts become stronger than the bond and obligation of words."

Respect and reverence for age were inspired in young Utopians. At meal time old men would give addresses and engage in improving discourse. "But they do not engross the whole discourse so to themselves during their meals that the younger may not put in for a share. On the contrary they engage them to talk, so that they may in that free way of conversation, find out the force of each one's spirit."

Space fails for a description of the methods of the Utopians in war. Suffice it to say that for only the best reasons did they engage in warfare and that when the struggle was over, "The only design of the Utopians . . . is to obtain by force that which granted in time would have prevented the war."

Sir Thomas More's theory of punishment anticipated by centuries the best thought of today. He saw in crime the product of social conditions and sought to deal with it by attacking its causes. He regarded punishment not as a vengeance upon the criminal but as a means for reclaiming him. He practically anticipated what is known as the indeterminate sentence. Criminals were subjected to compulsory labor; the hopelessly irreconcilable were officially put to death. "But those who bear their punishment patiently and are so much wrought on by the pressure that lies so hard on them that it appears they are really more troubled for the crimes they have committed than for the miseries they suffer, are not out of hope, but that at last either the Prince will by his prerogative or the people by their intercession, restore them to their liberty or at least mitigate their slavery."

Education in More's time was still dominated by scholasticism. Children were subjected to a discipline remote from the interests and activities of daily life. Prejudice against this deadening process crops out in descriptions of Utopian edu-

cation. "They have never yet fallen upon the barbarous niceties that our youth are forced to learn in those trifling logical schools that are amongst us; they are so far from minding chimaeras and fantastical images made in the mind that none of them could comprehend what we meant when we talked to them of a human in the abstract as given to all men in particular." On the other hand in Utopia education was practical. It included manual and industrial training in families in which certain trades were hereditary. Intelligence was generally diffuse. Reading was encouraged among all citizens who were also accustomed to attend public lectures and conferences. The application of scientific knowledge in the arts of life was encouraged. The Utopians had a weather bureau from which reports were sent throughout the commonwealth. Then too, Utopian education laid much stress upon moral education; discussion of ideals of happiness was common. The ethical system of Utopia was a sort of enlightened self-interest; it insisted that while happiness was an end to be sought, "No lesser pleasure should stand in the way of a greater and no pleasure ought to be pursued that draws a great deal of pain after it."

The success of Utopia as a whole depended upon the spirit which inspired the citizens—the dominant note of their lives—common loyalty to the traditions and purposes of their commonwealth. It would be hard to find a paragraph which sets forth the obligations of brotherhood and social solidarity more effectively than this passage from Utopia: "They counted it piety to prefer all public good to one's private concerns, but they think it unjust for a man to seek for pleasure by snatching another man's pleasure from him. And on the contrary they think it a sign of a gentle and good soul for a man to dispense with his own advantage for the good of others, and that by this means a good man finds as much pleasure one way as he parts with another, for as he may expect the like from others when he comes to need it, so if that should fail him yet the sense of a good action and the reflection that he makes on the love and gratitude of those whom he has so obliged, gives the mind

more pleasure than the body could have found in that from which it has restrained itself."

Out of a time of relgious intolerance and persecution, the longing eyes of More looked forward to an age when religious unity in essential things should be combined with freedom of conscience and unfettered exercise of religious faith. In Utopia, therefore, he paints for us a national church, devoted to the "Divine Essence" which represents that one element common to all faiths in the worship of which all men could unite. With this common worship was associated diversity in religious belief; sects of all kinds were recognized and permitted to hold private services. Proselyting was allowed but only within limits. Thus, "Every man might be of what religion he pleased and might endeavor to draw others to it by the force of argument and by amicable and modest ways but without bitterness against those of other opinions; but that he should not use any other force but that of persuasion and was neither to mix with it reproaches or violence." Discussion of religious questions was encouraged although disquieting debate before the young or inexperienced was to be avoided—a precaution which has interesting suggestions for the miscellaneous canvassing of scholarly, Biblical and religious problems in our own day.

The Utopians made belief in God and immortality a condition of holding office, but with all their loyalty to religion and to certain theological beliefs, they insisted upon tolerance and open-mindedness. "There is nothing in which they are more cautious than in giving their opinion positively concerning any form of religion. . . . If they are mistaken and if there is either a better government or a religion more acceptable to God, they implore his guidance to let them know it, vowing . . . to follow him whithersoever he leads them."

Many of the details and some of the principles of this sixteenth century dream have been realized; still others remain as "Utopian" as ever, but the noble and inspiring picture painted by this rare man of other days will long remain, not only as a part of English literature, but as a vital stimulus to the progress of mankind.

The Stage for Which Shakespeare Wrote

I. The Mystery Plays

By Carl H. Grabo

TO appreciate fully any of Shakespeare's plays it is necessary to have some knowledge of the stage for which he wrote. Shakespeare was not a closet dramatist writing for a reading rather than a playgoing public. He was a practical playwright, trained in the school of experience, and was during his career both actor and part owner of a theater. Moreover, Shakespeare was a successful dramatist. From his practical stage knowledge he created acting plays which achieved popular favor and won him a comfortable fortune. This material success indicates more than poetic genius. Poetic genius alone could not have captivated the Elizabethan audience, imaginative as that audience may have been. The business-like dramatist of Elizabeth's time as today had first to construct an acting play which accorded with the taste of his patrons, and which made use of popular stage devices and conventions, stock situations and characters. No successful dramatist can depart too widely from accepted tradition and remain popular with the run of the play-going public. Improvement must be improvement in kind rather than innovation or extensive departure from tradition. It is Shakespeare's distinction that he accepted the stage of his day, developed it to its greatest possibilities, and by the power of his genius rose superior to many of its limitations. For this reason the modern reader who wishes to understand wherein Shakespeare triumphed and wherein failed, must study the stage for which he wrote. Both Shakespeare's genius and his limitations will then be more readily understood and the student will see the great dramatist as he was, a successful, practical playwright and a great poet—a human if commanding figure. Such a view is very different from the old conception once so commonly held and still far from extinct,

that Shakespeare was a divine poet who wrote, of inner necessity, plays which were great poetic creations but which had little actual contact with the human and often vulgar stage of his time. Shakespeare was greater in degree than his contemporary brother dramatists, but no different in kind. He like them made a living by the writing of plays and pleasing, if not "splitting the ears of the groundlings."

If we are to understand and appreciate Shakespeare we should, therefore, have some knowledge of the theater, the audience, and the actors for which he wrote. Such knowledge demands a hasty review of early English stage history and a brief glance at the methods of producing plays in medieval times. For the Elizabethan stage was a natural development from earlier and more primitive stage conditions.

The English drama, like the drama of ancient Greece, had its origin in religious observance. The medieval clergy in their desire to make the Scripture stories vivid to their parishioners, introduced dramatic elements into the church service. We can readily understand their reason for doing this. During the Middle Ages practically no one outside of the Church was able to read. Whatever knowledge of the Bible the common people obtained was, therefore, from the clergy, who by the theory of the time were best fitted to justify the ways of God to man and give instruction in spiritual things. To interest and educate the people in Biblical history, the custom was inaugurated of dramatizing the most significant events in the lives of Christ, various Biblical personages and the saints of the Catholic calendar. At Christmas, for example, some effort was made to portray the incidents relating to the birth of Christ. Mary, the wise men, and the shepherds were given parts consisting mostly of action but with a few lines necessary to the exposition of the idea. At Easter some representation of the Resurrection was given, including the angels and the disciples as actors.

Such crude dramatizations as these were given in the Church, and large demands were made upon the imagina-

tions of the spectators when, for example, the flight into Egypt was represented by a journey only from one side of the building to the other. But the dramatization served its purpose in arousing and holding the interest of the spectators. Morever it prepared the way for further dramatic development, for it admitted as actors others than the clergy. In dramatic action requiring a number of characters the priest was obliged to call upon laymen for assistance, and thus was inaugurated, under the influence of the Church, the dramatic profession, which later became sufficiently removed in spirit from its religious inception.

In time the dramatizations of Biblical stories were transferred to the church-yards which, doubtless, permitted more freedom to the actors and more room for the spectators. But the use of church-yards was not without its drawbacks for it is said that the spectators marred the tombstones and thus caused the removal of the plays to the streets of the towns. Whatever the reason for the change, the "mystery" plays, so-called, are at the point of highest development to be found in the hands of the trade guilds and given in the city streets upon a movable stage. It is even possible that the generic name of "mystery play" comes from the word *mystere,* meaning a trade guild. Yet another derivation of the word is that it comes from the Latin *ministerium,* priest, thus indicating the ecclesiastical nature of the earliest performers.

The trade guilds of the Middle Ages were corporations rather than unions, in our modern understanding of the term, for they were combinations of employers for the regulation of manufacture and trade. However, in such comparatively primitive times the distinction between employer and employee, capitalist and artisan, was a shadowy one, and class lines in trade were hard to draw. An apprentice, at first an unskilled workman and an employee, became in time a skilled artisan and himself the employer of others. Thus a guild included all the workers in a particular trade and the combination of guilds embraced the whole industrial community of a town.

When the mystery plays came under the control of the guilds they became, therefore, the property of the most responsible citizens and reflected the taste of the greater part of the community. The stage traditions which were thus formed we may believe descended little changed to the reign of Elizabeth, at which time the mystery play died out, making way for the new dramas of the "theaters." It remains to be seen how the stage conventions thus handed down afforded opportunity for or imposed limitations upon the genius of the first great school of English dramatists among which Shakespeare was chief.

The mystery plays presented by the guilds were, as pointed out, a development of the early church dramas. While still retaining their Biblical nature they became much broader in scope and after a time covered practically the whole of Biblical history. The manner of their representation was dependent somewhat upon the episodic nature of their composition. A cycle of plays covering the whole of the Old Testament required perhaps several days for its performance, a considerable number of characters, and a great variety of scene. A convenient division of labor was therefore hit upon. The drama representing Adam and Eve and the expulsion from Eden was presented by a single group of actors under the guidance of one of the guilds. The story of Noah was presented by a second guild, and so to the end of the cycle. Each play had its own movable stage and was drawn from place to place through the streets and enacted several times so that everyone might see. In this way a number of plays were performed simultaneously and a spectator standing at some one point of vantage witnessed the whole series passed in orderly review before him.

The apportionment of the plays among the various guilds affords an interesting sidelight upon the *naiveté* of their presentation. To each guild was assigned a play which from its nature seemed best suited to the trade of the actors. Thus, for example, "Noah and the Flood" was appropriately enough performed by the Shipmasters' or Mariners' Guild. Concerning such a performance Mr. Sidney W. Clarke in

his book "The Miracle Play in England" gives this interesting information:

In the seaport of Kingston-upon Hull the play of "Noah" was performed annually, for over 300 years, on Plough Monday, the Monday after Twelfth Night, by the members of the Shipmasters' or Mariners' Guild, which still exists as the Trinity House. The performance was preceded by the celebration of Mass in the parish church, which was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and where the "Ark" was kept out of harm's way during the year by being suspended from the roof of the church. This ark was fashioned on the model of an ordinary ship, with mast and rigging, and round the sides of the vessel boards were hung, on which were painted pictures of the animals and birds that were supposed to take refuge within. The records of the Guild for the year 1591 show that in that year a new ark was purchased at a cost of £7 4s. 11d. . . . .

The staging of the mystery play was crudely realistic. The platform upon which the scene was presented could not of course be of great size for the reason that it was mounted on wheels and had to be moved about through the narrow, ill-paved streets. It was open on three sides and at the back appeared a number of entrances into small box-like structures, which Halliwell-Phillips described as "not unlike decorated sentry boxes," representing the various places demanded by the action of the play. There could be no shifting of scenes, so that change of location was necessarily indicated by the position of the actors upon the stage. In the Trial and Passion, for example, requiring representations of the palaces of Herod and Pilate, the Temple at Jerusalem, the room in which the Last Supper was eaten, etc., the development of the action was indicated by the progress of the actors from point to point upon the stage. The audience drew upon its imagination and readily accepted the convention of a change in scene by the simple removal from one point to another a few feet away. This convention of stage distance is now obsolete and in modern plays we demand that each stage setting shall indicate but one scene. As late as the time of Shakespeare, however, the convention of stage distance established by the mystery play was still as legitimate

LOST SOULS.

(From a Fresco of "The Day of Judgment" in the Chapel of Holy Cross, Stratford-on-Avon.

as the convention of stage time is today. It is highly important to remember this fact, for the setting of many of Shakespeare's plays is unintelligible without recourse to it.

Although the acceptance of stage distance required a considerable amount of imagination on the part of the audience, the medieval stage manager did not leave everything to his public. To the extent of his ability he strove for realistic effects. Mr. Sidney Clarke* writes:

The masterpiece of realism was Hell Mouth, perhaps the most popular and most eagerly awaited feature of the Miracle plays. In any play in which the Devil took part Hell Mouth was sure to figure, though it was in plays like the Harrowing of Hell and Doomesday that it attained its greatest magnificence. It was generally represented as a square, embattled tower, the entrance to which was through a gaping

*From Sidney W. Clarke's "The Miracle Play in England."

hideous dragon's head, with glaring eyes, enormous nose, and movable jaws lined with rows of long, projecting teeth.

"An hideous hole all vaste, withouten shape,
Of endless depth, orewhelm'd with ragged stone,
With oughly mouth, and griesly jaws doth gape,
And to our sight confounds itself in one."

When the jaws opened, fire and smoke, produced by braziers and bellows hidden away behind, were vomited from the mouth and nostrils. Drums were beaten, horns blown, tin-cans banged, and amid the wild din the devil and his imps leapt in and out of the flaming opening, to drag the wicked characters to limbo, or to stir up the unhappy occupants of the infernal regions.

To have a good Hell Mouth was the great and absorbing ambition of the old stage managers, and many are the entries relating to it—

Item, paide for payntyng and makyng new hell hede, xij. d.
Item, payd for mendyng new hell hede, vj. d.
P'd to John Huyt for payntyng of hell mowthe, xvj. d.
P'd for makyng hell mouth and cloth for hyt, iiij. s.
Payde for kepynge hell hede, viij. d.
Item, payd for kepyng of fyer at hell mothe, iij. d.

Other entries indicate elaborate efforts to attain startling stage effects, as for example, the following, with its triumphant command of reformed spelling:

Payd for the baryll for the yerthequake; payd for tyntyng (attending) the yerthequake, iiij. d.; payd for starche to make the storm, vj. d.; payd for makyng of iij worldys, ijs.; payd for pantyng of the worldys; payd for settynge the world on fyer, v. d.; payd for kepyng the wynd, vj. d.

Storms, thunder and lightning, etc., were indicated more or less successfully.

The realism of the stage machinery was supplemented by the stage scenery. Painted cloths were used at times as is indicated by the entries: "half a yarde of Rede Sea," "three paynted clothes to hang abowte the pageant," and "two pajiont clothes of the Passion." . . .

Doubtless these efforts to create an illusion were not highly successful but they indicate a desire for realistic ef-

fects which the costumes and minor stage properties were more successful in creating. Costumes were elaborate and relatively expensive. Mr. Clark writes:

The costumes worn by various characters were both curious and costly. Saints and holy persons were distinguished by gilt hair and beards. Christ wore a long sheep-skin. Herod was dressed as a Saracen, and bore a formidable sword. He was represented as always being in a passion, and was sometimes attended by a small boy, armed with a bladder tied to a stick, whose duty it was to beat Herod whenever his rage gave signs of abating, and so stir him up to fresh fury. The Shakespearean expression "to out-Herod Herod" indicates the extravagance with which the part was played. Demons wore hideous masks, as they still do in pantomimes, and angels were made supremely happy, and, we must think, uncomfortable, by having to wear gilded skins, and golden wings fastened to their shoulders. They also wore flowing white surplices, and had diadems on their heads. The Devil was a very prominent character for he wore horns and a tail and a bright red beard. His coat and hose were made of rough hair, and he was intended to present an uncouth and horrible appearance. Both he and Pilate carried huge clubs made of leather and stuffed with wool. The First Person in the Trinity was represented as a pope, with a tiara and sceptre, while the leaders of the Jews were attired as bishops in mitres, hoods, and rochets. Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden were dressed in close-fitting coats of white leather and hose, stained or dyed to (probably) a flesh color. At the proper time they put on, over these "fleshings," rough garments of skin.

Most of the characters wore gloves, and those who did not wear masks had their faces painted.

Finally, the lost souls wore parti-coloured dresses of black and yellow to represent flames, and they had their faces blackened.

Two more points must be noted in connection with the mystery plays. (1). All female parts were taken by boys, a custom which prevailed until long after Shakespeare's time. (2). The mystery plays contained the germs of English comedy and the comic scenes in tragedy. The audiences demanded relief from mere chronology or tragedy and so various characters such as the Devil and Herod were given a humorous turn. In the later "morality" plays the tedium

HELL MOUTH.
(From an Old German Print.)

of moral discourse was relieved by interpolated sketches known as "interludes." Thus arose the traditional alternation of tragedy and comedy which is the peculiar characteristic of the Elizabethan drama.

Briefly we may enumerate the significant points in connection with the mystery plays:

1. The mystery plays were as realistically presented as circumstances would permit. Costumes were carefully prepared. Many demands were made, however, upon the imaginations of the spectators. This is particularly true in the matter of "stage distance." 2. The English audience became accustomed to the interpolation of comic incidents and characters to afford relief from serious and tragic action. 3. All women's parts were taken by boys and men.

The Vesper Hour*

By Chancellor John H. Vincent

A LADY on the grounds at Chautauqua one day during the past summer expressed to the Chancellor the hope that some words might be spoken at the Vesper Hour for the comfort of persons who are under the pressure of sorrow, to whom bereavement, disappointment or other form of affliction has come.

Some people tell us that there really is no sorrow in this world; that it is mere fancy, the creature of a disordered imagination. All annoyance, pain, illness, and even sin are the idle dreams of uninstructed souls who do not know the reality of life. With such teachers of men we cannot argue. We listen and are silent. We who know human life well know how real are its sorrows. We concede that much of human suffering comes from morbid moods and imagined evils. But we know stories of human worry, anxiety and anguish that no sane man can deny. The world is full of testimony to the facts of pain, of disaster, and of despair. The Holy Scriptures corroborate the records of human experience through long ages of loss, pain and deterioration as consequences of rebellion against Heaven. All these are not only set forth in Holy Writ but are phenomena of moral government which no rational interpreter of human history can contradict. Go to the prisons, asylums, and hospitals, and then to the homes from which their inmates have come and you find testimonies full of tears and of bitterness. Study well the story of the human heart—its consciousness of guilt, its sense of insufficiency to meet the demands of life, its experiences in great moral crises, its profound sense of terror as it reads the record of a vision like this:

And I saw a great white throne and him that sat upon it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away; and

*The Vesper Hour, contributed to THE CHAUTAUQUAN each month by Chancellor Vincent, continues the ministries of Chautauqua's Vesper Service throughout the year.

there was found no place for them. And I saw the dead, the great and the small standing before the throne; and books, were opened; and another book was opened which is the book of life; and the dead were judged out of the things that were written in the books, according to their works. . . . Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap. He that soweth to the flesh shall reap corruption and he that soweth to the spirit shall reap life everlasting.

Human anxiety concerning personal obligation and consequences of evil may not be relieved or abated by evasion or denial. And the recognition of the great fact of personal freedom and responsibility and of human delinquency will cause trouble to the heart of one who being free and believing in God is conscious of an evil heart full of selfishness, a heart not yet surrendered to the sway of divine love.

While we face frankly and fully the facts of personal accountability and unworthiness we may find some lesson out of which wisdom and comfort may be gathered: God does reign in this universe. And God is love. He loves righteousness and he also loves the souls who are under the dominion of sin. And the divine power and resources give us hope that in some way, in God's way, we may come out of darkness into light, out of sinfulness into righteousness. Reform and renewal are possible. The whirlpool may be transformed into a fountain. The soul self-centered may by some divine process be able to subdue the forces that dominate it and come to love and serve the God it has hitherto neglected or rejected. Character may be changed. "The mercy of God endureth forever." The sins of the past may be forgiven and a repenting, believing soul become transformed by celestial forces. The revelation of divine grace makes the pages of the Holy Bible glow with hope. And he who reads with consenting will may find a new life begun within and abundant grace will be given to keep him in peace whose faith rests in God. God forgives!

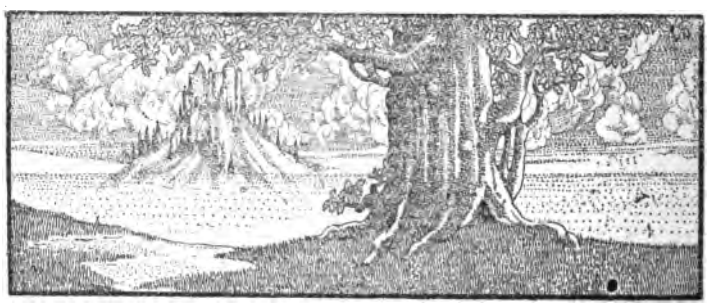
It was a reckless boy in a country school house who took pleasure in annoying his old teacher by utter carelessness in penmanship. Page after page of his copy-book was blotted and the teacher's reproof had no effect on him. But one day

he suddenly remembered a fact in school life that had hitherto been overlooked by him. His father did care, if he did not, what use he made of his school opportunities, and when in that country neighborhood examination day came the copy books would be placed on exhibition and his father might be interested enough in his son's progress to examine the record the boy had made. This thought coming one day to the young fellow startled him and he decided to "turn over a new leaf" and change his record in penmanship. Did the old schoolmaster, seeing the boy's effort at improvement, turn to the blotted pages as he inspected the book and rebuke the boy for his past carelessness? No, the tender old man kept his broad thumb pressed down firmly on the leaves, that no breath of wind might accidentally turn them and he spoke words of encouragement to the lad in his new attempt. Is God less gracious to us, his pupils and children? But the boy said to himself, "The thing I dread is the thing I had forgotten. When examination day comes and the books are laid out on the tables for inspection my father will be likely to open my book at the wrong pages. And my father is severe when he finds his children careless." And the boy was troubled about the past but kept trying to do his best. And examination day arrived. Then came the boy and his father. The books are all placed in order on the long table. "If only father will pass mine by," thought the boy, "or if I can persuade him to look only at my later pages!" In vain the boy tried as he saw his father turning back the leaves one after another, to lead the old gentleman further down the line to see Tom So-and-So's book—"he is a fine penman." But in vain! Father said, "I want to see your whole record, my boy." And he turned slowly back leaf after leaf and his son watched with anxiety. The old school master had cut out every blotted page and left only the later record on exhibition! It is a parable. And our God is Father and through the Christ He removes the sins of the past as we turn with honest purpose and sincere desire to change our record and to do the duty of today. Even our sins we may leave with a merciful God who has revealed to us His grace in Jesus Christ.

Again all the troubles that come from our own sins and follies, and all the restraints that come from a power beyond ourselves have a beneficent mission. God leads us and by our very sorrows helps us. Ralph Waldo Emerson says beautifully:

Out of love and hatred, out of earnings and borrowings and lendings and losses; out of sickness and pain; out of wooing and worshiping; out of traveling and voting and watching and caring; out of disgrace and contempt comes our tuition in the serene and beautiful laws. Let him not slur his lesson; let him learn it by heart. Let him endeavor exactly, bravely and cheerfully to solve the problem that is set before him. And this by punctual action and not by promises and dreams.

Thus let us all accept the sorrow that comes to us whether as consequences of our own wrong doing or as divine means for our discipline, and let us live to be true, to grow in the love of truth and to labor in all possible ways for the spread of truth and for the good of others.



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A MESSAGE FROM CHANCELLOR VINCENT

This is a good C. L. S. C. motto: A Day at a time—but *Every Day!* Under the reign of that law progress in study and growth in intellectual power are inevitable. And the course of reading prescribed by the C. L. S. C. will seem almost like child's play and will be supplemented by re-reading or collateral readings and by the study of special topics suggested by the regular course. When systematically pursued day after day our C. L. S. C. readings acquire added attractiveness and effectiveness.

The plan of reading you are now following as readers of this scheme is divided into six periods: First, the *Approach,* in which one reads the circular setting forth the plan, fills out the blank form of application, and looks over the first appeal and directions of the C. L. S. C. authorities. The Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth periods embrace the *Required Readings* of the four years in THE CHAUTAUQUAN and in the appointed books. The Sixth period is that of *life-long reading* in special courses, appointed or self-arranged, by which a genuine member of the C. L. S. C. grows, and gains, and gives, as he goes on his quiet way of thoughtful, earnest and useful living.

In the C. L. S. C. there is no compulsion. It is a matter of voluntary devotion to a large, steady, progressive course of reading, consecration and service. And the success of the whole scheme as an incentive and aid to personal growth, enrichment and success is in the simple law of *A day at a time—but every day!*

FROM A MEMBER OF OUR TRAVELING FACULTY

Chautauqua readers will be interested in the following "notes by the way" from Miss Katharine Lee Bates of Wellesley College who is preparing the articles on the Western Counties of England which are to form our "Reading Journey" beginning with December:

Carlisle, Cumberland, July 19, 1906.

My dear Miss Kimball:

The Atlantic had been swept before us with a sheeny azure broom and we had as smooth a voyage as heart could wish. We came up at once from Liverpool to Carlisle by the Midland line, with glorious views of the blue hills of the Pennine range and the long reaches of the Yorkshire moors to the right, and the cloudy summits of the Lake Country mountains to the left. We have made our first headquarters at this old border city, for so many wild centuries the Warden of the Marshes, and have been re-reading the Border Ballads, "The Lay of the Last Minstrel," and "Waverley," in the intervals of our drives to stately castle and ruined priory—even, though all in vain, to Gretna Green!

We plan to go down into the Lake Country tomorrow. I should like to open the Cumberland article with the Border interests, as the Lake Country element not only continues through Westmoreland, but overlaps into Lancashire. I hope to send you the first article, with photographs, in two or three weeks.

Sincerely yours,
KATHARINE LEE BATES.

A later communication is dated "Kuntsford (which is Mrs. Gaskell's 'Cranford'), Cheshire, August 17, 1906:"

We had a delightful sojourn, rain notwithstanding, in the Lake Country, and made a fast friend in a piebald pony, Toby by name, who shared (I hope) our tastes for mountain scenery and poetry. I know we tugged him up many steep slopes and read him a deal of Wordsworth. We are now passing rapidly down to Ludlow, where we hope to take to driving again.

Sir Richard Grenville

Sir Walter Raleigh

(See the Library Shelf, page 81.)

ON MEMORIZING SHAKESPEARE

There is no better way of becoming familiar with Shakespeare than by committing to memory significant passages. We shall get many points of view of Shakespeare's genius as we study his plays, but nothing will give us quite the same understanding of him as a living acquaintance with the actual text of his plays. Shakespeare is so great a poet that we need never fear to exhaust him—so great that we only begin to appreciate his power as we think his thoughts. Even if memorizing is not easy for us we shall find that reading and rereading great passages will in time make them our own. Mark passages that appeal to you, think them over and see if you agree with the poet.

EDITIONS OF SHAKESPEARE

Every C. L. S. C. member who does not already possess a set of Shakespeare will want to make plans looking toward ownership of all of his plays. There are many editions, the cheapest probably being the Altemus, cloth, 15 cents. The two standard editions containing notes are Rolfe's at 56 cents a volume, cloth, and Hudson's at 50 cents. For those who do not care especially for the notes and want merely a good

Sir Thomas More, author of the Utopia, and Minister of Henry VIII

(See "The Land of Nowhere," page 90.)

library edition in artistic form, light weight volumes, the Temple Edition, 45 cents in cloth and 75 cents in leather will be found very satisfactory. A very alluring edition of Shakespeare is that brought out quite recently by a London publisher, George Newnes. It offers the entire works of Shakespeare, plays and sonnets, in three volumes, for $4.00, postpaid. The paper is very thin but opaque, the volumes convenient in size and the flexible leather binding firm yet pliable.

L. A. Sherman

Thomas F. Moran

Cecil F. Lavell

OUR TEACHERS

Three authors are to guide us in our reading for the next few months, and Chautauquans will be interested in some brief facts about their experience as teachers. Professor C. F. Lavell, who is writing the series on "Imperial England," is already known to many thousands of C. L. S. C. readers through his charming little book on "Italian Cities." Mr. Lavell was for some years one of the staff lecturers of the Philadelphia Society for the Extension of University Teaching, has been a year in Bates College, Lewiston, Maine, and has recently accepted the chair of history in Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut. He is a graduate of Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, and supplemented his four years' course with additional work at Cornell and Columbia Universities.

Professor Thomas F. Moran, who is professor of history and economics at Purdue University, is a graduate of the University of Michigan, and later took his doctor's degree at Johns Hopkins. He is the author not only of out text-book on "The English Government" but also of "The Formation and Development of the Constitution." Mr. Moran is a frequent contributor to reviews and publications on economic subjects, and his varied experience as a teacher

The Heights of Quebec, from an old engraving. (See "The Great Duel with France," page 63)

Louis XIV of France. (See "The Great Duel with France," page 63)

Public Library, Sycamore, Illinois

Public Library, Wapping, Connecticut

Public Library, Celina, Ohio

Public Library, Chickasha, Indian Territory

Coronation Chair and Stone of Scone, Westminster Abbey. (See Moran's "English Government," page 21)

has enabled him to develop a clear style which can make even the discussion of government machinery most interesting.

Professor L. A. Sherman who is to help us to a better understanding of "What is Shakespeare?" holds the chair of English language and literature in the University of Nebraska. He has edited Shakespeare's "Macbeth" and "Hamlet," Tennyson's "Princess," etc., and is the author of "Analytics of Literature."

THE TRAVEL CLUB

Under the title of the Travel Club it has been customary for the C. L. S. C. to publish each year a special set of programs relating exclusively to the travel series for the year since many clubs make these travel courses the basis of their work. The travel series or Reading Journey for this English year will begin with the December CHAUTAUQUAN and comprise six studies of English Counties. It is suggested that Clubs and Circles wishing to devote themselves especially to this work, prepare for it either by taking the articles on Shakespeare and on Imperial England in THE CHAUTAUQUAN for the next three months or take up the study of Wordsworth and his fellow lake poets as a preparation for the journey through the lake district which is so full of historical associations. Further suggestions will be given in the October Round Table.

FOR THE YOUNG PEOPLE

At one of the C. L. S. C. Councils at Chautauqua this summer Miss Eleanor C. O'Connell of Cincinnati who has been giving some special attention to literature for children, recommended the following books relating to English history and life. Many of our readers who have young people about them may find it pleasant to guide their reading in lines relating to the C. L. S. C. topics for this year and so bring the household into a sympathetic atmosphere:

The Deserter. Harold Frederic. $1.25. A collection

of short stories. One entitled "How Diccon Won His Name" reflects the life of the Celtic period.

Men of Iron. Howard Pyle. $2.00. Tells the story of a boy's life in the time of Henry IV.

Tower and Throne. H. T. Comstock. $1.50. Times of Queen Elizabeth. Particularly vivid is the account of a visit to the Tower of London.

The Prince and the Pauper. Mark Twain. $1.75. Times of Edward VI. A very delightful volume.

Master Skylark. John Bennett. $1.50. A story of Shakespeare's times.

Will Shakespeare's Little Lad. Imogen Clark. $1.50. The story of Shakespeare's son.

Cherry and Violet. Anne Manning. $1.00. A well told story of the great plague and fire in London.

Barnaby Lee. John Bennett. $1.50. England and New Amsterdam.

MAP STUDY

We shall have much use for maps in our course this year, and readers will find it an advantage to be well equipped. THE CHAUTAUQUAN will furnish numerous sketch maps, and if any reader wants to secure a small, inexpensive atlas, the Globe Hand Atlas by J. G. Bartholomew, costing one dollar, will be found very satisfactory. These helps should be supplemented with small outline maps of the British Isles such as are used in schools. Outline maps can be secured through the Chautauqua office, postpaid, for two cents each, or ten cents for half a dozen.

C. L. S. C. MOTTOES

"We study the Word and the Works of God."
"Let us Keep Our Heavenly Father in the Midst."
"Never be Discouraged."

C. L. S. C. MEMORIAL DAYS

OPENING DAY—October 1.
BRYANT DAY—November 3.
SPECIAL SUNDAY—November, second Sunday.
MILTON DAY—December 9.
COLLEGE DAY — January, last Thursday.
LANIER DAY—February 3.
SPECIAL SUNDAY—February, second Sunday.
LONGFELLOW DAY—February 27.
SHAKESPEARE DAY—April 23.
ADDISON DAY—May 1.
SPECIAL SUNDAY—May, second Sunday.
INTERNATIONAL PEACE DAY—May 18.
SPECIAL SUNDAY—July, second Sunday.
INAUGURATION DAY — August, first Saturday after first Tuesday.
ST. PAUL'S DAY—August, second Saturday after first Tuesday.
RECOGNITION DAY—August, third Wednesday.

OUTLINE OF REQUIRED READING FOR OCTOBER

FIRST WEEK—

Required Books: "The English Government" Chapters I and II. "What is Shakespeare?" Chapters I and II through Act I of Cymbeline. (Many members may find it helpful to read at the outset Chapter VI on "Shakespeare the Man," reading it again later on.)

SECOND WEEK—

In THE CHAUTAUQUAN: "The Beginning of England's Sea Power."
Required Books: "The English Government," Chapter III. "What is Shakespeare?" Chapter II, Cymbeline through Act II.

THIRD WEEK—

In THE CHAUTAUQUAN: "The Opening of the East."
Required Books: "The English Government." Chapters IV and V. "What is Shakespeare?" Chapter II, Cymbeline through Act III.

FOURTH WEEK—

In THE CHAUTAUQUAN: "The Great Duel with France."
Required Books: "The English Government." Chapters VI and VII. "What is Shakespeare?" Chapter II, Cymbeline through Acts IV and V.

SUGGESTIVE PROGRAMS FOR LOCAL CIRCLES

For the October readings each member will need to be provided with a copy of Shakespeare's play of Cymbeline. Those who wish to buy this and other plays will find suggestions in the Round Table concerning various editions.

Every Circle will want also to keep a collection of quotations from the plays studied. It might be a good plan to hand to the secretary every week the selections quoted at roll-call. Let these be put on uniform cards like a card catalogue and then have them read aloud at the end of the study of a given play and see how many can tell who spoke them and when.

FIRST WEEK

Brief summaries of the following periods of English History: "The Normans," "The Plantagenets," "The Houses of Lancaster and York," "The Tudors." The four persons to whom these are assigned might report by giving answers to the following questions: (1) How long a time did this period cover? (2) What was England's relation to neighboring countries at the beginning of this period? (3) Had it changed at the end of that time? (4) What were the most significant events of the period? (See outline of English History in membership book).

Review of Chapters I and II in "The English Government."

Discussion of the pronunciation and meaning of words in these two chapters.

Study of Cymbeline—Act I. (See review questions in Membership Book, page 6.)

Roll-call: Memorized quotations from Cymbeline stating also who made the remarks quoted and on what occasion.

SECOND WEEK

Review of "Beginning of England's Sea Power" in THE CHAUTAUQUAN.

Reading: Selections from "The Library Shelf."

Paper: Some characteristic English traits as illustrated in her great navigators.

Discussion of Chapter III in "The English Government."

Study of Shakespeare's Cymbeline, Act II.

Roll-call: Quotations from Act II.

THIRD WEEK

Review of "The Opening of the East."

Reading: Selections from "The Land of Nowhere" in this magazine.

Discussion of Chapters IV and V in "The English Government."

Study of Shakespeare's Cymbeline, Act III.

Roll-call: Quotations from Act III.

FOURTH WEEK

Review of "The Great Duel with France."

Oral reports: Selections from Article on "The Mystery Plays" in this magazine.

Discussion of Chapters VI and VII in "The English Government."

Study of Shakespeare's Cymbeline, Acts IV and V.

Roll-call: Quotations from Act V.

LIBRARY EXTENSION DUE TO CHAUTAUQUA CIRCLES

"Chautauqua represents the true and healthy relationship of literature and life to one another. Its students are scholars who are at the same time men and women deeply involved in the business of living."—Phillips Brooks.

"I think you are all to be congratulated upon the splendid prospects of the Class of 1910," remarked Pendragon as the Round Table came to order. "It is always stimulating to us to have new evidence of the vitality of our great Circle which feels its strength not only in the constantly renewed activities of its oldest members but in the fresh enthusiasm of those who take up the reading for the first time. The Gladstone Class, as the 1910's have called themselves, has already enrolled a large membership, and its motto, 'Life is a great and noble calling' is a constant reminder of the way in which a man like Gladstone looked out upon the world of men in which he lived. Our new English year seems to have made a very wide appeal, and we shall expect to see many new friends at our Round Table. This letter which I hold is indicative of the spirit which has prevailed this summer at other Chautauquas all over the country. It is from Rev. D. W. Howell, one of the directors of the fine C. L. S. C. Assembly at Forestville, Connecticut. Mr Howell has entered into the spirit of the work so thoroughly that several western Chautauquas have asked him to take charge of their Round Tables. In this letter which he writes from Illinois he says:

"I closed at Lithia Springs yesterday. We had a good time. On Recognition Day we organized the Lithia Springs Alumni Association, and held the first banquet—fifty-one strong. It will be a means of increasing Chautauqua enthusiasm. The outlook is exceedingly bright for the future."

"Today as you know," continued Pendragon, "we are making a survey of the library achievements of our Circles during the past year—how they have worked for the good of their neighbors as well as for themselves, and before we have the reports I want to call your attention to a very interesting and suggestive article in *The Dial* for February 1, 1906, on Field Libraries. It is by Mr. Melvil Dewey who has done such splendid work in developing the library facilities of New York State. Let me quote a few paragraphs:

"As we look over the library field ripe for the harvest on every side, we find the greatest need at present in the rural sections. A little over half of our people live in the country. They have a larger margin of leisure, fewer distractions, and fewer opportunities to get the best reading. They read more slowly and carefully, and get more good from books than their high-pressure city cousins, whose crowded lives leave little time for intellectual digestion.

"In this connection Mr. Dewey emphasizes the need of friendly guidance for these rural readers and adds this suggestive comment:

"The visitor in our little home libraries who meets once a

week with the children, to give needed help; the reference librarian, now so prominent a factor in the best libraries; and the children's librarian, one of the best of the new special workers,—these are all practical recognitions of the fact that no magnificence of buildings, wealth of resources and endowments, excellence of catalogues and indexes, or liberality of hours and rules, can ever take the place of the trained expert who is at heart the reader's sympathetic friend. Such a helper may change the whole course of a life by giving the experimental reader confidence and stimulating interest at the first short interview. The man or boy who has been spending his evenings lounging about the country store or saloon and doubtfully tries the experiment of going to the library instead, should be handled with as much care as the trout that approaches the bait, for he is as easily frightened away. He needs a sympathetic helping hand across the stepping-stones of an untried stream. The range of books is vast. The new reader needs not only books, but a friend."

"You will be interested in his solution of the problem. Think about it and talk about it to your friends and to people interested in library extension. After you have noted the reports which you are to hear from Circles who are promoting libraries, you will agree with me that it is quite possible that some day a Chautauqua Circle may be responsible for starting out the first 'bookwagon.' This is what Mr. Dewey proposes:

"The itinerant principle offers a solution. The traveling book must be supplemented by the traveling librarian, who can give a day or two each week or month to the locality too small to afford his entire time. . . .

"The commercial traveler does his best work only when he can carry his samples with him. People need object lessons. The traveling librarian must have with him a considerable collection of books for his house-to-house and individual work. He can do much good by gathering those interested in schoolhouses or churches for an evening talk, stimulating interest and good resolutions and giving helpful suggestions; but when he sits down with the family or an individual to talk about personal reading he must have open before him some of the books for which he is trying to create an appetite. As these are too heavy to carry about by hand, we must have a book wagon with horses or motor, holding perhaps a thousand volumes carefully selected for this peculiar work. With this equipment the man or woman with a genius for the work has a rare opportunity for usefulness. . . .

"The book wagon would have its regular route, repeating its visit at intervals of perhaps two or more weeks. This book missionary would come to know his constituency as a pastor knows his people. He would learn natural abilities and tastes, and would become skilful in developing latent interests and leading promising readers steadily on to higher and better things. If on any trip he did not have in his wagon just the book wanted, he could record the need and bring the book next time from the central library from which his routes would radiate. He would invite his readers to visit the central library whenever they went to town and to feel free to ask for help in person or by letter. . . .

"No one who fully appreciates the great influence of books and

reading can doubt that the money required to equip such a book wagon and to pay the salary of such a traveling librarian would yield very large educational dividends."

"Our first report today must come from Chickasha, in the Indian Territory. You remember that Mrs. Thompson gave us last year the story of the beginnings of their enterprise and today we are to have the later history." "I am glad to be able to present a photograph of our library," responded the delegate. "As you have been studying Greek Art the past year, you will doubtless regard with some discrimination its classic features—the Corinthian columns, etc., and you will notice that our architect has lived up to his privileges and adapted Greek ideas to American needs. The building is of buff brick and stone, including besides the ordinary library arrangements, a children's room and on the second floor an auditorium with a seating capacity of about four hundred. The children's room was furnished by the New Century Club, the reading room by Sorosis, and the reference room by Chautauqua. The chairman of the library board is an active member of the C. L. S. C., but as I said in my earlier report all sorts of people and organizations have had a share in promoting the enterprise. The town is taxed for the support of the library, but additional funds are needed since we have kept the library open eight hours a day and two on Sunday—so the club women have secured subscriptions and given an entertainment during the past six months to insure the constant usefulness of the library, and we have been well repaid, for it is serving the entire public just as we hoped it would. You ought to see the keen delight of the children in their reading room and in the privilege of taking the books home. The teachers report that nature study work in the schools has been greatly helped by the library. The schools give semi-monthly exhibitions in the auditorium during the winter, and we have held also association meetings, plays, and entertainments. We held open house on Thanksgiving Day, twenty-five hostesses serving as a reception committee—one of the churches gave a Washington's birthday reception, and later in the year a play written by one of our Chautauqua members was presented by thirty-five ladies and girls and proved very successful. You may be surprised to know, though it is quite a matter of course with us, that our Indian citizens are among the most zealous and liberal promoters of the library."

A cheerful looking delegate from Celina, Ohio, was the next to report. "You may recall," she said, "that two years ago we

referred to our library as a sort of 'Spanish possession' which wasn't yet quite naturalized and that in two years at most we expected to have it in a house of its own. We are happy enough to be able to report that our library is no longer a half alien but is snugly housed in its own cosy building. I am sorry that I cannot yet show anything more than a souvenir postal view made from the architect's drawing, and so giving no adequate idea of the beauty of the building. The interior is being decorated with special designs and will be most attractive. We can hardly realize as we look back that it is nearly seven years since we opened our 'Shakespeare Public Library' in the city building, for you know our Shakespeare Club, the leader and several members of which were Chautauquans, is primarily responsible for this achievement. If you will look back over the chronicle of our deeds in THE CHAUTAUQUAN for these past years, you will see what a novel and sometimes rather exciting career has been ours. You will remember that forty volumes of Bancroft's history were our first literary possession. Later, other books were presented to us, but our chief source of revenue was the lecture courses which we conducted for some years, giving the public an opportunity to hear men that were worth while, and at the same time, storing up the proceeds to serve this same public in another fashion, for you see our town may be said to have 'had its cake and eaten it too.' This steady persistence in a good cause had its effect. The other clubs in town came to the rescue, our doctors and lawyers and other public spirited citizens lent a hand by subscriptions, entertainments, etc., and here at last is our fifteen thousand dollar Carnegie building. It has been a long struggle since the days when the Shakespeare Club girls kept the library open one evening a week by taking turns in acting as librarians, and sometimes the building looked a little hazy in the dim distance—but you may be sure we do not grudge the struggle, and we feel that to secure the future welfare of our community was quite worth all it cost."

"Carnegie buildings are especially in evidence this time it would seem," remarked Pendragon, "but our next story is that of a New England venture in a little farming community in Wapping, Connecticut. I am sure you will all feel that this enterprise has been particularly worth while, for it shows what can be done in promoting public spirit where people are quite remote from each other, and where everything depends upon local coöperation and ideals." The delegate from the Hawthorne Circle then explained that Chautauqua work started in the little hamlet of Wapping fourteen years ago. "Our library," he said, "is really due to our

president, Mr. Henry W. Sadd. The Chautauqua Circle made us feel the need of more books, and as the state had agreed to appropriate one hundred dollars annually for library purposes for any town that would do the same, our president and others brought the subject up at town meeting. Four town meetings voted 'No,' but at the fifth the library cause triumphed, the appropriation was made, and in January, 1899, the library was organized in two branches, one at each end of the town. The town has secured two hundred new books each year, and the number of people who patronize the library has been surprisingly large. A few years ago our president, with characteristic modesty, said that he should consider it a privilege to erect a library building and give it to the town. Here is the building, made of cement blocks and finished in brown ash. It will be an ornament and an inspiration to our community for long years to come. During these fourteen years our Hawthorne Circle has numbered more than one hundred members, and you can imagine that at our annual celebration this summer we had a real jubilee."

As the Wapping member resumed his seat a delegate from Ohio proposed a Chautauqua salute for Mr. Sadd, and the "lilies bloomed" at the Round Table in true Chautauqua fashion.

"It is with especial pleasure," said Pendragon, "that I introduce the next speaker, Mrs. M. M. Lively of Blackwell, Oklahoma, for they have had an experience which is one of the most striking illustrations of the altruistic spirit of the C. L. S. C. that we have yet found." "I really feel that Chautauqua has assumed a new significance to us this year," said the Oklahoma delegate, "and this is what has done it. A member of the Class of 1906, Mr. Charles A. Crouch of Branford, Connecticut, read the report of our library in the September CHAUTAUQUAN of last year and wrote us offering some of his books. I think I must read you his letter. After referring to the fact that he had noticed our struggles to build up a library, he says: 'This reminded me of the fact that I have a lot of books which I do not expect to find time ever to read again. As I have lately come to the conclusion that it is wrong to hoard up anything that will give anyone else pleasure, I shall be glad to send you these books. Every one is bound in cloth, some of them rather cheaply, but I think they will stand several years' handling.' Then followed a list and when the books came there were one hundred and thirty volumes. It was a splendid collection, containing many rare volumes, and testified not only to the kindness of heart which prompted the deed, but to the fine literary taste of the donor, as

well. It included standard fiction, quite a number of good biographies, works by Prescott, Gibbon, Rawlinson, Hugh Miller, Carlyle, Ruskin, Kipling and others, and some reference books which will be most valuable.

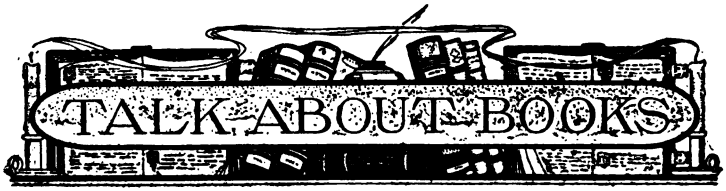
"In March our Chautauqua Circle gave a 'home talent' play from which we cleared nearly one hundred dollars. Mrs. Blake, one of our members visited her former home in Peoria, Ill., and interested the club women of the town so much that they gave her a 'book shower'—one hundred and twenty volumes—we thought it almost too good to be true when we heard of it. The ladies of Peoria and their generosity will never be forgotten by the Blackwell C. L. S. C. A former president of our Circle, Mrs. Randall, who lives in Joplin, Mo., is collecting books for us from her friends, so you see our library is a very cosmopolitan affair. We now have five hundred and twenty-five books, and hope to have a still better report next year."

"Now we are to hear of a library enterprise in Sycamore, Ill., which has been going on quietly for a score of years, and which has just found expression in a Carnegie building," said Pendragon. "That this is our first news of it is quite significant, for it suggests the idea that many another town library of which we have not heard owes its inspiration to the C. L. S. C. Mrs. H. A. Carnes can speak with authority, for she is one of the four Chautauqua women who have been on the Board of Directors from the first." Mrs. Carnes then explained that the founding of the library was due to the C. L. S. C. which was organized in the eighties. "I belonged to the Class of '85," she said, "the first Chautauqua graduate in Sycamore. Others belonged to '86 and '87, and so on. The Athena Circle while doing its regular literary work, organized itself also into the 'Sycamore Library Association' in order to work for this much-needed enterprise. For about two years we devoted ourselves to educating public sentiment by means of lectures, concerts, etc., and at the end of that time had seven hundred dollars in the bank. Then we went to the City Council, and asked that it appoint directors and make an appropriation to buy books as authorized under the Illinois state law, the library association pledging itself to pay all expenses for one year—room rent, magazines, daily papers, tables and chairs for reading rooms, etc., also librarian's salary. The mayor, with the consent of the council, appointed the directors, and made an appropriation of seven hundred dollars for books. Our library was opened July 12, 1892, on the second floor of what is known as the Waterman building. The rooms were very well lighted, and we occupied them for twelve years. The public found

the library very useful, and at length the City Council were encouraged to apply to Mr. Carnegie, feeling that they could rely upon public sentiment, which did respond most creditably. One of our citizens gave us the finest lot in town for the building, and furnished the library itself with the best modern equipment, and Mr. Carnegie's fourteen thousand dollars paid for the beautiful building of red sandstone shown in this picture."

"Our last report," said Pendragon, "must be from Somerset, Ky., where there is a new Carnegie library in process of construction. We shall hope for a picture of it next year. Our delegate tells me that they can't claim the credit for this altogether—but I will let the Kentucky member tell her own story." "We feel that our superintendent of schools really deserves the chief credit for our fine new library which is now being built," replied Miss Pettus, "but we have had for some years our own circle library, and we have helped agitate the question of a public library to such a degree that it is understood that our library of about sixty books which has been very carefully selected, is to be turned over to the new enterprise. Moreover, the library authorities have proposed that we raise two hundred and fifty dollars to help furnish the new building, so you see they feel that they can count on our practical help. It may not be irrelevant here to speak of our work in securing pictures for our public schools. We had an entertainment which yielded quite a little sum, and with this we bought some fine large pictures of the best sort for our school building—about twenty-five in all. They were the Perry pictures of the large size, costing seventy-five cents or a dollar apiece. We had them suitably framed, and they are a great addition to the school. Just what we shall do about the library fund I can't say now, but next year when I show you a photograph of our new building I will report."

"As a study of the influence of Chautauqua upon communities, it would be a great thing if we could know more of the history of this library movement," said Pendragon in closing. "Suppose those of you who live in towns where library buildings have been erected within the past fifteen years inquire into the origins of those libraries. Find out not merely how and when the present buildings were erected, but what smaller libraries, if any, preceded them, and what individuals or organizations in the town were the first to agitate the question. You know, in working up any historical subject one always needs to get at 'original sources.' Trace your library histories to these sources, and let us know what you find."



PART OF A MAN'S LIFE. Thomas Wentworth Higginson. pp. 311. 8¾x5¾. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1905.

Colonel Higginson's life has spanned the most interesting period of American history—indeed the greater part of our history as an independent nation. In his youth he was the friend of the Transcendentalists and the men of letters who have already become classics in American literature. Himself a scholar, writer, and radical, he was acquainted with the ablest thinkers of his day, both in the United States and England. He was, too, an abolitionist, knew Colonel Shaw, and like Shaw was a commander of a black regiment. Reminiscences from a man with such a wide range of interest and acquaintance must necessarily cover but a "part" of his life. We can only regret that this volume of essays does not cover a greater part and become in fact an autobiography.

Colonel Higginson writes on such varied topics as "Butterflies," "The Transcendentalists," "Intensely Human," and "The Cowardice of Culture." The last two essays named are particularly timely. "Intensely Human" is a sane analysis of the negro question; it does not mince words but is frank and on the whole optimistic. The blame for the greater part of the evils arising from the contact of the whites and blacks is placed where it belongs—upon the whites. In "The Cowardice of Culture" the author sounds a cheering note for those discouraged by the evils of a democratic state. Fifty years ago, graft and corruption were as rampant as today, and the men of culture pronounced democracy a failure. The culture of the present resists the encroachment of democracy and denounces the socialistic trend of modern thought. Colonel Higginson's experience teaches that the mass may be wiser than the individual, that democracy is not a failure, but a success; that the cure for the evils arising from democracy is more democracy. It is a fine thing to have lived more than eighty active, useful years and at the last still to be progressive and optimistic. We could wish all old age to be as Colonel Higginson's, "like a lusty winter, frosty yet kindly." C. H. G.

THE MENEHUNES; their adventures with the fisherman and how they built the canoe. Emily Foster Day. Illustrated by Spencer Wright. pp. 30. 75 cents. San Francisco: Paul Elder & Co.

The Menehunes seem to be the Brownies of Hawaii. The folklore of the islands, as the author tells us, "is full of the tales of their wonderful works; and if any one wants more proof—why, there is the great water course of Kauai, cut through the solid rock,—no man knows by whom else." Very charming is this one typical tale of the little brown people, how Laka, the canoe builder, cut down a great tree only to find that during the night the Menehunes had set it up in its place again. How he surprised them at their work when they were outwitting him for the third time, and how at length the little brown folk came to terms and built him a canoe "perfect from stem to stern." The illustrations in soft shades of brown give us the tiny wood folk in many joyous attitudes. Altogether it is a dainty little gift book and one to delight the heart of a child.

A Book of Verses for Children compiled by Edward Verrall Lucas. pp. 304. $1.00. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

A collection of poetry in which the author has attempted to preserve some of the favorites of the children of a generation or two ago, largely by English writers, with some additions from *St. Nicholas* and the works of Eugene Field, Longfellow and others. Considerable space is given to the quaint productions of Jane and Ann Taylor and Elizabeth Turner under the head of "Old Fashioned Girls" and "Old Fashioned Boys." "English Ballads and Old Christmas Carols;" "Blossoms from Herrick and Blake;" "Unnatural History;" "Birds," chiefly, however, the cuckoo and the linnet, and "Bedtime" poems suggest some of the subjects included in this collection. The notes at the end of the volume give interesting sidelights upon the history and associations of some of the poems.

F. K.

MANASSAS. By Upton Sinclair. pp. 412. 6x8¾. $1.50. New York: The Macmillan Co.

Every new story of the Civil War and its causes raises the question: Has the time yet come for an impartial history of that struggle? Many Southerners will find it hard to accept Mr. Sinclair's painfully realistic picture of the South before the war. He represents the attractive side, but the horror of slavery throws into shadow all the culture and charm of the Southern aristocracy. Mr. Sinclair writes with very considerable skill and force and arouses the hope that the successors to "Manassas" may assume a place in American literature comparable to that taken by the novels of Frank Norris. Altogether "Manassas" is the "biggest" and best novel yet written dealing with the events leading up to the Civil War.

C. H. G.

News Summary

DOMESTIC.

April 2.—The bituminous operators in the Pittsburg district sign the 1903 wage scale. Governor Jefferson Davis of Arkansas is nominated for U. S. Senator.

12.—Greene and Gaynor are found guilty at Savannah of conspiracy and embezzlement in famous government contract case.

16.—The Supreme Court hands down an important decision affecting divorces granted in states of which both parties to the suit are not residents.

18.—A severe earthquake wrecks the business portion of San Francisco; this is followed by a great fire; several hundreds of persons are thought to have been killed and many million dollars worth of property destroyed.

24.—Deaths due to earthquake and fire in San Francisco are estimated at 2,500. Body of John Paul Jones is interred at Annapolis. Quarterly report of U. S. Steel Co. shows earnings of $36,634,219, an increase of $13,600,000 over the corresponding quarter of last year.

30.—Bulletin of Bureau of Labor newly issued shows that during 1905 the price of necessary commodities was over 15 per cent. higher than the average price of the year 1890-1899.

May 3.—Losses at San Francisco are now estimated at $350,000,000.

7.—Coal miners and operators agree formally to continue the award of the strike commission of 1903 three years.

16.—Senate committee declares for a sea level isthmian canal.

17.—Investigation by interstate commerce commission into Pennsylvania Railroad Co. discloses graft of railroad officials.

18.—Railroad rate bill passes the Senate.

21.—U. S. Supreme Court confirms conviction of U. S. Senator Burton.

30.—Twelfth annual conference on International Arbitration opens at Lake Mohonk.

June 4.—Neill-Reynolds report and special message of President Roosevelt are sent to Congress. Packing companies issue a statement denying the conditions charged in government report. House passes Burton bill which provides for the preservation of Niagara Falls.

8.—William Pinkney Whyte, former governor of Maryland, is appointed to succeed Arthur Pue Gorman as United States Senator.

19.—Beef inspection bill passes the House of Representatives almost unanimously. The bill provides an annual appropriation of $3,000,000 for the maintenance of the inspection service.

21.—Senate by a vote of 36 to 31 decides in favor of a lock canal at Panama.

23.—The House passes a Pure Food Bill.

July 20.—Panama Canal loan of $30,000,000 is oversubscribed several times. Postal savings banks are established in the Philippines.

22.—American Federation of Labor issues an appeal to its members to study political conditions and support only those candidates which further the cause of organized labor.

29.—New York insurance superintendent makes report that San Francisco disaster caused a net loss to companies of $132,823,067.

FOREIGN.

April 6.—An eruption of Mt. Vesuvius previously slight becomes menacing; peasants dwelling on the slopes flee their homes.

7.—The town of Bosco Trecase is destroyed by the eruption of Vesuvius. Moroccan convention is signed at Algeciras and conference adjourns. Governor of Tver, Russia, a reactionary official, is assassinated.

12.—In elections all over European Russia the radicals triumph; out of 179 members of parliament so far elected only five may be classed as reactionaries.

16.—Dr. Bosanquet, director of the British School of Archæology at Athens, announces the discovery of a Temple of Artemis on the bank of the river Eurotas.

23.—Father Gapon has, it is rumored, been slain by revolutionists for the betrayal of their cause. Belgium training ship sinks in the Bay of Biscay; thirty-five are drowned. Russian autocracy places additional restrictions on the powers of the Douma.

May 2.—Premier Witte of Russia is dismissed; he is succeeded by M. Goremykin, ex-Minister of the Interior.

3.—Russian cabinet ministers resign.

4.—Great Britain presents ultimatum to Turkey demanding the withdrawal of Turkish troops from Egyptian territory.

10.—Russian Parliament meets and listens to a speech from the Tzar; it then elects a president and decides to make a reply to the speech from the Throne. The English Education Bill passes second reading in the House of Commons.

26.—The Russian Douma asks for the resignation of the ministry and the formation of a cabinet; this action follows the government's refusal of all the important reforms demanded by the people's representatives.

31.—A bomb thrown at the King and Queen of Spain soon after the marriage ceremony kills eighteen bystanders; the King and Queen are uninjured.

June 14.—Hundreds of Jews in Bialystok, Russia, are massacred by Christians.

30.—Tzar accedes to demand of Douma that he dismiss the present cabinet.

July 4.—Heir to German throne is born to Crown Princess Cecilie.

10.—Admiral Rojestvensky is acquitted by court-martial of blame for defeat in battle of Sea of Japan.

13.—Law restoring Alfred Dreyfus to the Army is passed in French Chamber of Deputies.

19.—A peace conference of the commissioners of Guatemala, Salvador and Honduras is held on the U. S. Cruiser *Marblehead*.

20.—Peace commissioners on *Marblehead* sign treaty. Will of Alfred Beit bequeaths a sum of $6,000,000 for development of communication and transportation in South Africa.

22.—Douma is dissolved by imperial ukase; rioting in St. Petersburg follows; representatives flee to Finland to continue session in defiance of Tzar. Cabinet is dismissed and a new Premier, M. Stolypin, is appointed.

23.—The Douma in a manifesto urges Russian citizens to refuse support to both throne and army until rights are granted.

24.—Tzar orders repressive measures to prevent revolution; he is sentenced to death by terrorists.

OBITUARY.

April 6.—Sir Wyke Bayliss, president of the Royal Society of British Artists.

10.—Nathaniel S. Shaler, eminent geologist and Dean of the Lawrence Scientific School of Harvard University.

13.—Richard Garnett, English author and scholar.

19.—Professor Pierre Curie, discoverer of radium.

May 14.—Carl Schurz, statesman, journalist, patriot.

23.—Henrik Ibsen, famous Norwegian dramatist.

30.—Michael Davitt, Irish patriot.

June 4.—Senator Gorman of Maryland.

10.—Richard J. Sedden, Prime Minister of New Zealand.

18.—John M. Pattison, Governor of Ohio.

July 1.—Sir Wilfred Lawson, M. P., leader of the English Prohibitionists.

5.—Jules Adolphe Breton, famous French painter.

16.—Alfred Beit, financier, and head of diamond mining industry in South Africa.

18.—Lady Curzon of Kedleston, wife of the former Viceroy of India.

30.—John Lawrence Toole, famous English comedian.

Two New Bible Courses

The C. L. S. C. has provided through its "special courses" a variety of plans for the study of the Bible and literature relating to it. The two courses, Number 8 (a) and 8 (b) are now announced which will be based upon the geography of Palestine considered as a background for study of the Bible.

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Course 8(b). This is the latest course issued by the American Institute of Sacred Literature and will also use as its background the "Reading Journey in Palestine" as published in THE CHAUTAUQUAN. It will require the reading of several books to be announced later and a considerable amount of the Bible itself. Students of this course will receive nine monthly lesson bulletins assigning the work and offering suggestions, and monthly reports will be required. The special object of this course is to give to ministers and Sunday-school teachers the knowledge of Palestine and the Oriental life and customs which will enable them to interpret the Bible more accurately, and to give to pupils the appropriate setting for the events recorded. A Chautauqua Seal will be awarded to all C. L. S. C. members who do the work required by the Institute and receive its certificate. A fee of fifty cents is required for this course and may be sent to the Chautauqua Office, Chautauqua, New York.

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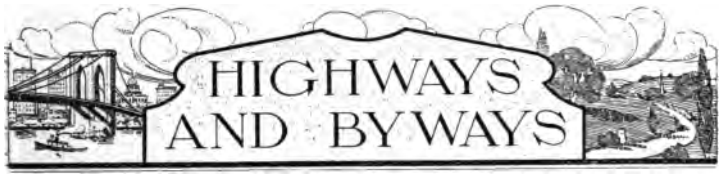


WE have referred more than once to the British school question, and especially to the religious phase of the question. The House of Commons passed, after a strong debate, the Liberal education bill, which was intended to modify in several respects the educational system of the country. It was to establish complete public control over all schools supported or aided by the public, and to do away with denominational religious teaching at public expense. The Balfour education act of 1902 was profoundly objectionable to nonconformists and other elements mainly because it provided for the support of the voluntary church schools out of the local taxes or "rates" and thus compelled, as everybody thought, dissenters, Catholics, Jews and Agnostics to pay for Anglican religious instruction in such schools. A whole passive-resistance movement arose on account of this feature of the law and hundreds went to jail for refusing to pay for denominational instruction.

The Liberal act, which the Anglican church and the Tories bitterly opposed, and which the House of Lords was urged to reject even if thereby forcing another general election, provides for Bible teaching, or undenominational instruction, in all the public schools, and permits denominational instruction during certain hours at the expense of the parents who want it and by others than regular teachers. The difference between the two systems is fundamental, the Liberal one being a great step toward the secularization of the public schools.

But a decision rendered in a case which had its origin in the refusal of the county council of West Riding, Yorkshire, to levy a rate for the support of the religious teaching of the church schools has reduced the situation to complete chaos. The High Court of Appeals holds that, no matter what Parliament intended, the phraseology of the act of 1902

does not specifically require the local authorities to pay for or support the religious features of the church schools. It is the duty of the county councils to "maintain and keep efficient" these schools but as religious teaching is not under the control of the councils, but under that of private managers, the court ruled that the financial clauses of the act did not apply to religious instruction.

Until and unless the House of Lords (the final court of appeal) reverses this decision, which astonished all England, not excepting the passive resisters, the present law, owing to the clumsy and unskilful drafting, accomplishes much that the pending Liberal education bill was designed to accomplish, and there is no need of new legislation on the religious feature of the school system. It is within the discretion of the Government to accept the decision as final, but it may decide to appeal to the House of Lords in the interest of certainty and legal order and regularity.

However, the Liberal bill contains many provisions which are regarded as important and necessary, and the measure will probably be proceeded with in any evnt. It is desired to put all public schools under one authority and do away with divided responsibility and divided management.

The Spread of Parliamentary Government

It is a strange commentary on the intelligence and decency of the Russian court and the Russian bureaucracy that their frantic, stupid, fanatical resistance to the spirit of the age, to the only course that holds out any hope of pacification and regeneration should synchronize with voluntary concessions to progress and to constitutional government by the Shah of Persia and the Prince of little Montenegro. One cannot help asking whether, after all there is not more political sense and humanity in the ruling circles of Persia, a decadent, stagnant, threatened nation, than in the governing circles of "Holy Russia."

The western world shows little interest in Persian politics

and Persian internal affairs generally. "The Persian question" is a question of Anglo-Russian politics. Shall Russia or England control Persia and the trade of her people? This, coupled with the indirect effects of either power's mastery over the Persian Gulf, has been the real Persian question. When, therefore, the report came in August from Teheran, that the absolute Shah had created by a special decree a national Parliament with full legislative functions, the world was greatly surprised, though the report had, it is true, been preceded by a number of vague items of news indicating a condition of political unrest in Persia.

Prince of Montenegro
Who has summoned a Parliament.

The great change—for such it proves to be—has some peculiar features—peculiar, especially for Islam. It seems that the priests (mullahs) were the principal instrument in bringing about the organic change. The liberal and educated subjects of the Shah had for some time actively agitated the question of reform, but the Grand Vizier and the ministers were reactionary, and the Shah was unwilling to surrender any of his "divine rights," which for thousands of years had spelled oppression and misgovernment and tyranny. The masses of the Persian peasants had no part in the movement, and are not in fact, recognized in the new system of government. A strike of the priests at Teheran is reported to have forced the Shah to dismiss the Grand Vizier and appoint a more liberal government. The priests felt that only a national awakening could save Persia from "benevolent assimilation" by Russia or England, and absolutism made such an awakening impossible. With a parliamentary government intrigue and corruption and pressure will be far less effective than with an irresponsible clique and an impecunious court.

The Persian Parliament is to consist of but one chamber

and to be composed of princes, high church dignitaries, scholars, merchants and other notables. The ministry will be in a measure responsible to the assembly. The Shah has a veto power, but all legislation is to originate in the assembly.

Shah of Persia
Who has recently granted reforms.

Though the peasants are to have no representation, the assembly will certainly be more representative of the nation than autocratic government has been. The present constitution, too, may lead to further and still more liberal reforms. At any rate, the great step forward has been taken without the bloodshed and tragedies that accompany such changes in backward countries—and not in them alone. The lesson of Persia should not be lost on the selfish and blind reactionaries of Russia.

With regard to the principality of Montenegro, the following item appeared in a London newspaper:

Prince Nicholas of Montenegro has just promulgated the decree under which the grand old race of fighting mountaineers will surely go through, for the first time in its history, the experience of electing a parliament. The election takes place on September 27th, and the deputies will be elected for four years. Every captaincy, as the districts are suggestively named, will return a member, as will each of the six towns of the principality. Every adult male of twenty-one is a voter, and every man of thirty paying about thirteen shillings a year in taxes is eligible. The following have also seats, ex officio: The Orthodox Metropolitan, the Roman Catholic Primate, the Moslem Chief Mufti and members of the Privy Council of the High Court, of the Court of Accounts, and the three Generals of Brigade, nominated by the Ministry.

No further details have been furnished since the above was published—in August—and the reasons which prompted the Prince are still unknown.

The Campaign and Its Issues

A new period of political agitation began with the opening of the state and congressional campaigns early in August. In the states local issues—opposition to "graft" and machine tyranny, home rule, liquor regulation, primary legislation, and so on—claim much attention, but these questions have not overshadowed the current national issues. Indeed, the really important and notable state campaigns involve identically the same issues that are under discussion in the congressional contests.

William J. Bryan
Leader of the Democratic Party.

Thus in Massachusetts the paramount topics are tariff revision and reciprocity with Canada and a strong element of the Republican party is as advanced on the tariff question as the Democratic party. In New York the issues are social and economic—the control of trusts and corporations, further regulation of the great insurance companies, municipal ownership of public utilities, rigid, impartial enforcement of the criminal laws against rich and powerful offenders.

A feature of the state platforms is the "presidential" resolution. Republican conventions have displayed a strong tendency to disregard President Roosevelt's repeated and unequivocal declaration that he is not to be considered a candidate for another term and to indorse him for reëlection. Illinois has indorsed Speaker Cannon, but the general feeling among political observers seems to be that Mr. Roosevelt will be urged by his party to run again in spite of all "unwritten laws" and traditions against third terms. The drift toward him is unmistakable, and largely on account of this, the burden of Republican speeches and writings in the congressional campaign is that, in order that the work of the

President in the way of trust control, restraint of oppressive monopolies and enforcement of law may be continued, and his politico-industrial policies effectively pursued it is essential that the Republicans shall once more elect a majority of the national House.

Among the Democrats the drift is equally strong toward Mr. Bryan. His home-coming, the reception which the party tendered him on his arrival in New York, the resolutions of state conventions indorsing him as the only logical candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination of 1908—all these are symptoms of recognized significance. The Democrats hope to control the next House. They argue that the popular legislation of the last session of Congress was wholly non-partisan; that Democrats as well as Republicans supported the President in the railroad-rate, meat-inspection, pure food and other struggles, and that the ideas of Roosevelt are ideas which Mr. Bryan advocated before him and which Democratic platforms explicitly enunciated years ago. A Democratic House, they say, would give the President even more vigorous support than he received last winter and spring from a House in which the Republicans had a huge majority.

As to the present differences between Mr. Bryan and his followers on the one hand, and President Roosevelt and the Republicans on the other, they reduce themselves practically to the tariff-trust question.

The former advocate immediate tariff revision, not merely because they believe in a revenue tariff, but because they hold that trusts and monopolies cannot be more effectively attacked than through the tariff—by reducing the duties on the commodities they monopolize, or by removing such duties entirely. The President holds that the tariff question is distinct from that of the trusts, and that it would be injurious to lower duties in order to increase competition. Concerning revision *per se,* the Republican position is that commerce should not be disturbed by tariff legislation or agitation until it is manifest that the advantages of revision are great enough to overbalance the disadvantages. As the country is prosperous now, revision is held to be unnecessary and inexpedient.

The Bryan Democrats favor municipal and state ownership of public utilities; the Republicans have taken no position on the question. But this cannot be regarded as a "live" issue in this year's national campaign.

Mr. Bryan insists upon the destruction of all private monopoly; the President believes in the control and regulation of monopoly. Mr. Bryan advocates government ownership and operation of railways, but this is a personal opinion and does not commit the party.

Generally speaking, the discussion of the campaign issues is rather general and indefinite. The new problems do not fit the old partisan platforms and shibboleths.

Europe and "American" Doctrines

The Pan-American Congress which met at Rio de Janeiro in July and adjourned at the end of August will perhaps mark the opening of a new epoch in the relations between the United States and our southern neighbors, as well as in the relations between Europe and South America. The congress was the third since the idea of a Pan-American organization, with periodical meetings to discuss common needs and interests, originated with James G. Blaine, the American statesman. But the first two congresses dealt with questions of practical utility—communication, trade, copyright, protection of trade-marks, statistical information, etc.

The third congress, thanks to several circumstances, in addition to subjects of the character just named, deliberated and acted on questions of great political and judicial importance. One of these was arbitration as a substitute for war; another, the forcible collection of private or public debts in South America on the part of European powers.

With regard to arbitration, the congress unanimously adopted a resolution indorsing that method unreservedly and recommending that the American Republics present to the next peace conference at The Hague proposals looking to the preparation of a general treaty of conciliation and arbitra-

tion. South and Central America will be fully represented at the next peace conference, and in view of the past (and recent, for while the Rio de Janeiro Congress was sitting a strange, irrational little war suddenly broke out in Central America, involving three countries, and necessitated the friendly mediation of the United States and Mexico to put an end to the fighting and arrange for arbitration)—in view of the past history of South America, the active advocacy of arbitration by its representatives at The Hague will be both gratifying and encouraging.

The Late Mrs. Craigie ("John Oliver Hobbes") Noted novelist.

The question of forcible debt collecting is covered by the so-called Calvo-Drago Doctrine, which is becoming as dear to South America as the much older Monroe Doctrine is to us. The former originated with Argentine statesmen, who held that the use of armed force to secure payment of any national debt is an act of unjustifiable aggression upon the sovereignty of the coerced nation. There is little disposition in any neutral quarter to question the soundness of this position. Men invest capital and purchase securities in South America "with their eyes open." They assume all the risks and exact heavy interest on account of the degree of risk they have to incur. In the event of difficulty or controversy over a debt, the courts of the country concerned are at the service of the creditors. The use of the navy, bombardment of cities, the seizure of ports, should never have been resorted to, even in the case of unstable countries.

The doctrine condemning such methods was not directly approved by the Pan-American Congress. But a resolution was adopted recommending the American republics to submit it for deliberation at The Hague Peace Conference. What that conference will do with the doctrine, considering

the practise of England and Germany in South America, remains to be seen.

The third Pan-American Congress owed no small part of its success to Secretary Root's journey to South America, to his visit in Rio while the congress was in session and to the series of his notable speeches on the real scope of the Monroe Doctrine and on the policy of the United States toward its southern neighbors. In one of these speeches Mr. Root virtually declared American sympathy with the Calvo-Drago Doctrine; in others he disclaimed all meddlesome and "superior" pretensions and pleaded for cordial relations and confidence between the United States and South America. The effect of these addresses has been highly beneficial, and much benefit should result from the tour. We have not been liked or trusted in South America, but Secretary Root's "mission" should make for a better understanding and more sympathetic relations.

Labor in National Politics

Organized labor in the United States has followed the example of British union labor and has "entered politics." That is, it has decided to make itself a distinct, independent political factor. Workmen will vote, not as Democrats, Republicans, Prohibitionists, and so on, but as workmen, as a body of men having special needs and interests and desiring legislative protection, or rather promotion, of those interests.

The leadership of this important departure—important to American unionism as well as to our politics—has been assumed by the president and directors of the American Federation of Labor, an organization which claims over a million adherents. The decision is significant, for there has been in the past determined and general opposition among unionists to "political action." It was feared that any serious attempt of union leaders to control the votes of workmen would introduce discord and friction into the unions and impair their value and usefulness in industry. Men, it was argued, join unions

in order to ameliorate their material condition; political issues are wholly foreign to questions of wages and hours.

These objections seem to have lost their force. No unionist leader or organ, no element of the rank or file has raised them this year. It is the consensus of unionist opinion that it has become necessary for labor to enter practical politics *as* labor and demand due recognition of its interests and rights.

Rev. Hugh Black
Recently appointed to Union Theological Seminary.

For years organized labor has endeavored to obtain from Congress certain legislation to which it believed itself entitled—an anti-injunction act limiting the use of the writ of injunction in strikes; an eight-hour act applicable to contractors who do government work, and some other measures. The bills for these acts have been before half a dozen Congresses, but they have made no progress toward enactment. Labor accuses Congress of hostility and double dealing, and a list of unfriendly or unfair representatives has been prepared to warn unionists against voting for them where they are candidates for another term. The labor leaders are "on the stump" and seeking to defeat, among others, Speaker Cannon, who is opposed to anti-injunction legislation, and the leading members of the judiciary and labor committees.

While in some quarters this new attitude of union labor is assailed as "un-American," as tending to establish classes in politics and give undue prominence to group or class interests, impartial observers view the departure as natural and even desirable. All interests are "in politics," and legislation is necessarily the resultant of conflicts of interests. Labor has its legitimate special interests, and it should have its representatives in Congress, as British labor has in Parliament, to defend and further them. It is, of course, absurd

to pretend that labor's interests are not affected by politics. There is no divorce between industry and politics, and "social legislation" is now the order of the day.

It is said, however, by some editors, that labor should respect the convictions and sentiments of opponents and credit them with sincerity. The condemnation of prominent congressmen is held to be injudicious and unjust, since it is assumed that these statesmen are "hostile" to labor, when they may honestly believe the desired labor bills to be objectionable and unsound.

The campaign of union labor is arousing keen interest, and its results will be awaited with concern. In Maine, which votes in September, labor fought Representative Littlefield, and, as it claims, won a great "moral" victory, reducing his plurality by four-fifths.

A Sensational Step Toward Spelling Reform

For years scholars and authors have carried on a quiet but persistent campaign in favor of simplification of English spelling. A few of the changes they favored—"tho" for "though," "catalog" for "catalogue" "program" for "programme," and so on—were accepted by a certain number of editors and publishers, but progress was slow. A few months ago an active Simplified Spelling Board was organized to make a more strenuous fight for the reform, and Mr. Andrew Carnegie took the cause under his wing. He "endowed" it, and furnished the funds for the campaign. For this he has been bitterly assailed and ridiculed, but he serenely pursues the even tenor of his way. Mr. Carnegie is an ardent apostle of the supremacy of the English speaking race and of the English language and he believes that the world would make English the "universal" tongue if it were simpler and easier to master.

Be this as it may, the board does not propose radical changes. It merely advocates the dropping of useless letters

Pulling Together

Baby Boer } "Here, I Say, Drink Fair!"
Baby Briton }

A cartoon from *Punch* upon the relation of Boers and Britons in the Transvaal under the new constitution.

and the conforming of the written to the spoken word wherever this is practicable.

A list of three hundred simplified spellings has been prepared and circulated, and leading authorities, including the English and American dictionary makers and eminent teachers of English, have thoroughly approved the suggested changes.

Most of the words arouse little antagonism, but a considerable number are violently objected to as ugly, revolutionary, impossible. Only boors and illiterates, some critics say, will write: Suppress, crusht, husht, distresst, kisst, etc.

Consternation, however, followed the sudden announcement from Oyster Bay that President Roosevelt, as a convert to the simplified spelling idea, had ordered the public printer to adopt the spelling of the list in question for all public documents originating in the White House or under the jurisdiction of the Executive. Or rather, the order was "to follow copy," the President himself having adopted the simplified and new spellings. The opponents of the movement say that President Roosevelt has attempted to reform the English language by a sort of "ukase." British editors regret his step on the ground of the confusion that will ensue and suggest an Anglo-American agreement on the subject. American critics fear that the example of the President may be widely followed by editors, public men and writers, and that thus the movement they treated with scorn may prove but too successful.

The President's action was a surprise to the leaders of the reform. They did not even know that he was interested in the movement. They are naturally glad and elated. To what extent the President's practise will be followed remains to be seen. Congress is in no way bound to adopt the President's spelling, and its own records and documents are entirely under its control.

Lord Clive
Engraved from the Painting of N. Dance.

Pioneers of Empire: Robert Clive*

By Cecil F. Lavell

Professor of History in Trinity College; author of C. L. S. C. Book on "Italian Cities," etc.

WE have already dwelt on what might be called the spontaneity of British expansion. It is of course true that at certain periods intense rivalry has developed a lust for conquest which might be called imperialism and which was really a phase of the warlike spirit. So in the age of Elizabeth English sailors and English statesmen struck anywhere and in any way at the power of Spain, and founded Virginia partly to "put a byt in the anchent enemy's mouth." So again in the age of Chatham the idea of empire building entered unmistakably into the great conflict with France, and Chatham may be called, in contrast let us say to Walpole, a champion of an imperialist policy. So once more in our own day the rapid advance of Russia in Central Asia led to the "Forward Policy" of which we shall see more in our final study, and to conquests in Asia which would not otherwise have been dreamed of. And yet it remains true as a general principle that the Empire was not created by policy or statecraft; that only when it was practically completed did England or the world become conscious of what it meant; and that if we wish to see just how it came to be and reason from actual facts we must put aside the large generalizations of recent years, and simply, with a map of the world before us,

* This is the second of a series on "Imperial England" in THE CHAUTAUQUAN. The complete list includes: Beginning of England's Sea Power, The Opening of the East, The Great Duel with France, September; Pioneers of Empire — Robert Clive, Cook and Phillip, David Livingstone, October; The Dominion of Canada, The Road to the East, The Perils and Rewards of Empire, November.

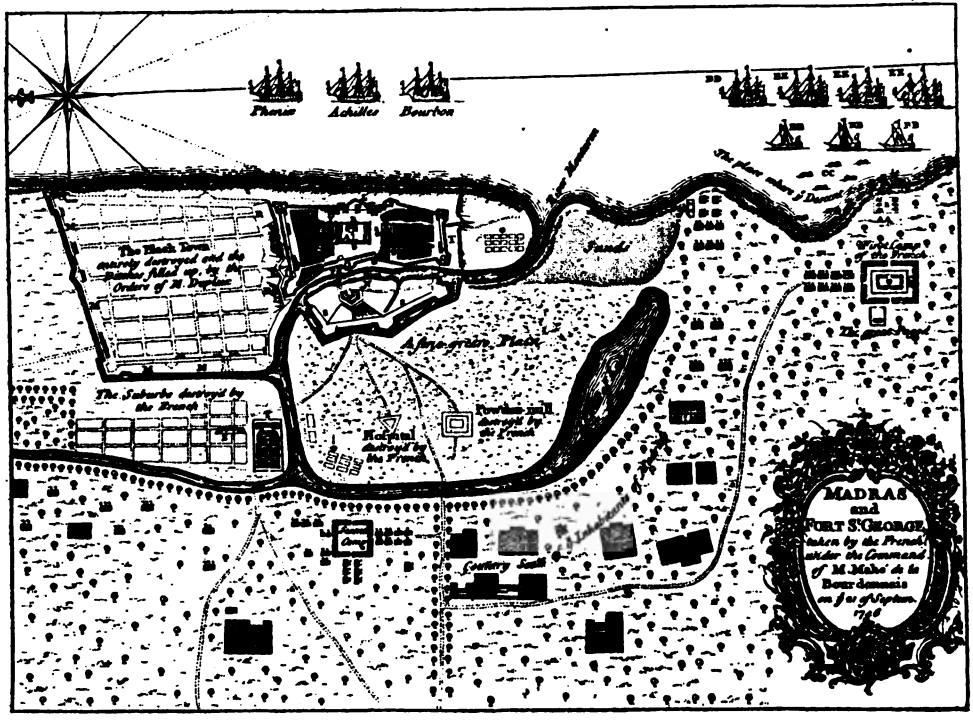
ask ourselves how it happens that these great patches of the earth's surface—Canada, Australia, India, South Africa and practically Egypt as well—belong to that vast confederacy which we call the British Empire. Of these we have already studied the innocent beginnings of England's interest in India, and we have seen, too, how a gigantic struggle for existence and dominion led to the conquest of Canada. Here indeed was imperialism, conscious acquisition, statecraft and generalship bent deliberately to the problem of overcoming a rival and annexing a dominion. Sad and unnecessary it all was, too, if we argue on an ideal basis, and yet even as we say so we know how futile such a statement is. To have turned Hannibal from the invasion of Italy; to have kept Frederick from breaking his oath by the invasion of Silesia; to have dissuaded Napoleon from his return to France after Elba; to have strengthened Napoleon III against the persuasions of Cavour in 1859 and so averted Magenta and Solferino,—all these single things may be reckoned as possible, and if some force, personal or otherwise, had been at hand to so influence Hannibal, Frederick, Napoleon the Great or Napoleon the Little, history would in a measure have been changed. But no one is foolish enough to speculate on what might have happened if Rome and Carthage had not been rivals, if Prussia had not risen to her lofty estate in Germany, or if Italy had not been awakened to a new life, simply because such hypotheses bring us into fields so vast, so inextricably interwoven with the passions, the plans, the ambitions, the fortunes of whole nations and many generations that we turn helplessly away from speculation and call these things "inevitable" as we might an earthquake or an eclipse. Of such a nature was the rivalry of France and England in America. The conquest of Canada does not raise the question of imperialism *vs.* anti-imperialism, simply because the issue is too clear.

But now let us turn successively to India, Australia, and South Africa to see how it was—not that Englishmen went there at all, for that is intelligible enough, but how they came to be rulers there. We shall wish to see who were

England's pioneers in those far-away lands, what motives took them there, and what conditions made the English masters over countries and peoples so alien from their own. Trade we understand; love of adventure we understand; missionary enterprise, the imperious call of gold or diamond mines, the thirst for knowledge, the desire to do what other men have failed to do,—all these we understand and do not dream of condemning. All are motives that take men away from home; they are part of our humanity, only bad if abused, and they raise no question. Only it will, perhaps, be easier to understand what is meant by expansion, by empire building if we study the work and motives and problems of such pioneers as Cook or Clive or Livingstone, and see how easily, how insensibly step led to step and problem to problem until all at once where a little trading post had stood, where a little ship had cast anchor, where a solitary missionary had preached and toiled, there arose an empire.

Towards the close of the year 1744 Robert Clive landed at Madras as a clerk in the service of the East India Company. He was not quite twenty years of age, and he had so far shown little aptitude for anything but mischief. Essentially a lover of action, restless in times of quiet, only calm in the midst of excitement and turmoil, he was ill adapted for the office life designed for him by his father, and the boy was practically considered a failure at home when he took passage for India. He himself welcomed the change with the thoughtless joy of a restless mind. To stay in England meant intolerable monotony and drudgery. India was seen through the haze of distance, and its remoteness, its fabled glories, and the element of wildness, uncertainty and possible danger associated with the East all formed an attraction not to be resisted. But sad indeed was the disappointment of the eager lad when he reached his destination and settled down to his duties there. His office work was as dreary in Madras as in London or Liverpool, with infinitely less opportunity for relief.* He accepted it with the quiet of

* The story made familiar by Browning's poem "Clive" is told of this period of his life.

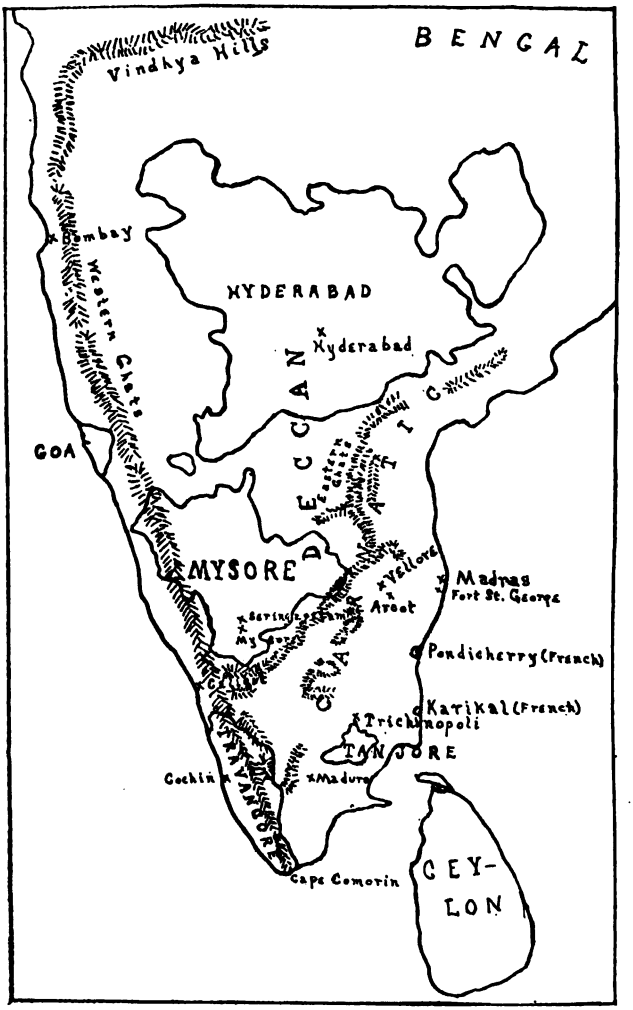


Map of Madras as it Was when Taken by the French in 1746

despair, attempted suicide once, it is said, and only found a measure of solace in the library of a kindly superior.

Two years passed before relief came,—a relief that was the only possible one to this mind that reveled in the shock and storm of war and rusted in the quiet of peace. The war of the Austrian Succession begun by Frederick's invasion of Silesia in 1740 had involved England and France in the first quarrel that the two rivals had known since the days of Marlborough. A French squadron appeared off Madras and compelled the town's surrender. Clive with a few others escaped capture and so avoided the necessity of giving their parole not to bear arms during the remainder of the war. The arrival of an English fleet made the conflict in the East a fairly equal one, and at last in the tempest of battle the young clerk found his vocation and won his spurs. When the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle closed the war in 1748 Clive went back to his desk with a new hope and a new interest in life. For to one of his penetration it was evident that in India the struggle was far from ended. Rather was it barely started. Affairs were brewing in that year of the Treaty that boded stormy times in the days to come, and it would be strange indeed if some vague dreams did not flit through Clive's mind of the glory that would be his when the cloud should break.

Now let us glance for a moment at the map. One may think of India as shaped like a great, irregular kite, with an area almost equal to European Russia and a population of about three hundred millions. Its greatest distance from north to south and from east to west is about nineteen hundred miles. So much for the figures that we need to get our first bearings. Guarding the great curve of the north runs the vast double range of snow capped mountains, the highest in the world, whose diverse names we group for convenience under the inclusive one of Himalaya. From them run the famous rivers, the Ganges, the Indus, the Brahmaputra, which have made the plains of northern India one of the most fertile and populous regions in the world. Fertile, populous, wealthy,—therefore fair spoil for the robber and the soldier



Sketch Map of Southern India

of fortune, and so the story of these river plains is one of terror and ruin,—a record that would, one might think, dye the soil red from Lahore to Delhi and from Delhi to Calcutta. South of the plains runs irregularly from east to west a line of hills which we may conveniently, if not quite accurately, group under the name properly attached to the western part of the range, the Vindhya Hills. Here begins a rugged and irregular tableland extending south to Cape Comorin and bounded on the east and west by the Ghats,—a Hindu word signifying steps. This is the Deccan.* On the west (Malabar) side the great landing stairs leave only a narrow strip of coast, dotted with cities like Cochin, Calicut or greatest of all, Bombay,—cities whose merchants for hundreds of years have traded the products of India for the rich cargoes brought from Arabia, Persia, Africa and Europe. On the eastern side the edge of the hill country is more irregular, and one great curve inland of the Eastern Ghats has left the great plain—the Carnatic—which has been world-famous ever since Macaulay wrote his essay on Clive. Here, in 1748, were situated the English Company's Fort St. George, at Madras, and a rival French post a little further south at Pondicherry. And the governor of Pondicherry was the astute and daring Dupleix.

India was in a state closely bordering on anarchy. More than two hundred years before (1526) a valiant descendant of Tamerlane already conqueror of Samarcand and Kabul, invaded the Punjab and defeated the Afghan ruler of Delhi in the battle of Panipat. Under the able rule of Akbar, grandson of Baber the conqueror, Shah Jehan, builder of the Taj Mahal, and Aurungzeb, conqueror of the Deccan, the power of the Mogul emperors became practically supreme in India. But for the welding of the peninsula into one permanently united state the constructive genius of the Moguls was inadequate, and with the death of Aurungzeb in 1707 the colossal structure began to fall apart. When Clive

*The Deccan does not, strictly, include Mysore, Travancore, Cochin or the strip of coast between the Western Ghats and the sea, nor does it now include the Carnatic as it practically did in the time of Clive.

landed at Madras the Emperor at Delhi was still nominally supreme lord of India. But the great Hindu confederacy of the Mahrattas was dominant and still rising in the west; the princes of Rajputana were practically independent; and the Mohammedan governors of provinces, great and small, were more and more each year ignoring their supposed master and busily strengthening their own power,—somewhat as the dukes and counts of France did during the long age of confusion between Charlemagne and Philip Augustus. Of these new sovereigns the most powerful was doubtless the Nizam of Hyderabad, Subahdar of the Deccan, and among the subordinate chiefs who owned the supremacy of the Nizam the greatest was the Nawab of the Carnatic, whose capital, Arcot, was about seventy miles from Madras. The original franchises of the Europeans had been obtained, of course, from the Emperor at Delhi. But it was to the Nawab, nominally the Emperor's representative, that both Madras and Pondicherry paid tribute and owed the respect due to the practical lord of the soil on which they were permitted to trade. So it was this potentate who felt called upon to interfere when his English and French tenants fell to blows, and who when the French took Madras in the autumn of 1745 sent ten thousand troops to eject the French garrison. On the banks of the river Adyar near St. Thomé this army was met and wholly defeated by two hundred and thirty Frenchmen and seven hundred sepoys sent out by Dupleix,—and thus decisively did the French governor learn his first lesson in conquest.

Dupleix was both ambitious and resolute, but he had need of great caution, for his resources were lamentably small and he had no reason to expect aid from France. Yet a tactful application of the Roman motto, *Divide et Impera*, "divide and rule," was by no means unknown in the annals of the Portuguese and French in India. To use diamond to cut diamond, to divide the native forces, to throw himself on the weaker side, and so conquer by means of the natives themselves while yet holding the balance of power was an experiment too obvious not to occur to the quick mind of

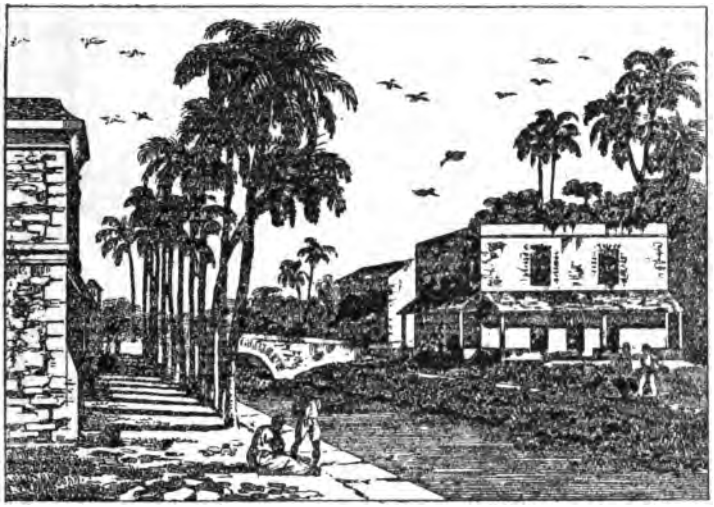
Sydney, New South Wales, and the Entrance into Port Jackson. From an old Engraving.

Dupleix. And a golden opportunity came almost before he had begun to seek it. In May, 1748, Nizam-ul-Mulk, Subahdar of the Deccan, died, leaving his great dominion to his second son, Nasir Jang. But, as was natural in a period of confusion, a rival appeared in the person of one of the late Subahdar's grandsons, Muzaffar Jang, who further associated with himself a claimant to the subordinate throne of the Carnatic in the person of one Chanda Sahib. Now Chanda Sahib knew something of the value that would accrue from an alliance with the formidable alien traders, and it was no difficult matter for Dupleix to come to an understanding with the two pretenders. A blow was struck, ruthless and decisive. The Nawab in occupation was defeated and killed. In August, 1749, Muzaffar Jang proclaimed himself at Arcot Subahdar of the Deccan and Chanda Sahib Nawab of the Carnatic. In December, 1750, the plot was completed by the murder of Nasir Jang, and with the proclamation of Muzaffar Jang at Hyderabad the plan of action devised and guided throughout by Dupleix seemed to be consummated. Even the murder of Muzaffar Jang a little later only strengthened the hands of the French governor, for it gave him an opportunity to interfere with decision, to avenge the murder of his ally, and to nominate a successor who was far more definitely the puppet of Dupleix that Muzaffar Jang had been. And thus matters stood at the beginning of the year 1751.

In the meantime the English at Madras looked on at all these doings with some perturbation of spirit. They were not in the councils of the wily Frenchman and could not wholly see the drift of his connection with the intriguing princes. But they understood enough to see that it was not to their advantage that Chanda Sahib's accession to the sovereignty of the Carnatic should go wholly unchallenged. So they did the one thing that was possible under the circumstances, and gave their support to a rival candidate, Mohammed Ali, son of Chanda Sahib's dead predecessor. But no man guided affairs at Madras with the craft and energy of the watchful Dupleix. The aid sent to Mohammed Ali was rendered almost useless by the hesitation, the nervous un-

certainty, the irresolution of the men who sent it,—men good and worthy, but inadequate to a crisis such as this. The officers placed in command of such troops as were dispatched were of less than ordinary capacity. And by the time that Chanda Sahib's ally Muzaffar Jang saw himself safely installed on the throne of Nizam-ul-Mulk, Mohammed Ali and his few adherents were being closely besieged by the victorious Nawab in the fortress of Trichinopoly. The English soldiers and sepoys who were with him were as discouraged and hopeless as their chief. It seemed a matter not of years or months, but of weeks when France should be as supreme in southern India as the Dutch in Java, and the English traders expelled from Madras as they had been a century and a quarter before from the Spice Islands.

Clive had been away from Madras on special service. He returned early in 1751, finding matters in the lamentable state just sketched. His record now justified Mr. Saunders, the newly arrived governor, in giving him a commission as captain, and he bade farewell with enthusiasm to his old civilian life. In July he was commissioned with a brother officer to take a detachment of reinforcements to Trichinopoly and to return at once with a report on the situation. This he did, and his report was as bad as it well could be. The whole force of Chanda Sahib lay before the doomed fortress, and no one among the besiegers or besieged doubted the outcome. But the young officer who laid these dismal facts before the authorities at Madras was far from hopeless. As the Romans had compelled Carthage to recall the terrible Hannibal from Italy by carrying the war into Africa, so Clive proposed to relieve Trichinopoly by attacking Arcot, Chanda Sahib's capital. Mr. Saunders embraced the plan with enthusiasm. He had only three hundred and fifty English soldiers at his disposal, but two hundred of them he entrusted to Clive, and on the 26th of August, 1751, the young captain set out on the enterprise that was to make his name a household word in every county in England before he was a year older. He had with him the two hundred raw English soldiers, three hundred sepoys and three small field pieces.



Pondicherry. From an old Wood-cut.

As he approached Arcot he learned that the garrison was composed of one thousand two hundred native soldiers, and found out what he could of the nature and plan of the fortifications. Then pushing on he reached his destination on the 31st in a fierce storm, captured the fort without the loss of a man, strengthened it for defence and within the next week made two successful flying attacks on bodies of the enemy that were lying within striking distance. Then he devoted himself to further securing his position, had some eighteen pounder guns sent him from Madras, and prepared for a siege. Already much had been done. All those chiefs who had been lukewarm in their allegiance to Chanda Sahib or who had been wavering between the rival princes attached a significance to Clive's feat of arms which would have seemed to a casual observer altogether exaggerated. Their desire was, as a matter of fact, to range themselves with the winning side. Until the capture of Arcot this seemed to be beyond question the side of Dupleix and Chanda Sahib. But now this sign of a new boldness and enterprise in the hitherto inactive and irresolute English, this appearance of a

Plan of Pondicherry, the Center of French Influence in Southern India

leader whose achievement was appraised at its full value by the acute minds of the Oriental warriors made a change in the whole situation. Some decided that this was indeed the turn of the tide. The powerful Sultan of Mysore declared at once for Mohammed Ali, and with him went prince after prince in the very neighborhood of Trichinopoly. Chanda Sahib saw the danger. A large force was sent north to join the troops that were gathering in the vicinity of Arcot under

Raja Sahib, the Nawab's son, and on the 23rd of September an army of about ten thousand men laid siege to the fortress garrisoned by the little band of Englishmen and sepoys under Clive. Ill supplied with either ammunition or food, the defenders stood their ground and beat back attack after attack with a tenacity, a steady resourcefulness that soon turned the eyes of every statesman and fighting man in India to the mud walls of Arcot. At last after a siege of fifty days Raja Sahib realized that he must conquer at once or accept defeat. For every day of failure weakened the allegiance of Chanda Sahib's supporters and made new allies for his rival, and word came that the renowned Morari Rao, most dreaded of Mahratta chieftains, had decided to march south with ten thousand of the best cavalry in India to relieve Arcot.

The 14th of November was the day of the festival of Moharrum, sacred to every Momammedan in India as the anniversary of the death of Hosein, son of Ali, companion and friend of the Prophet of God.* It was the time above all others when the soldiers of Raja Sahib might be trusted to fight against the unbelievers with the mad fanaticism, the impetuous, self-forgetful valor that had made the followers of Mohammed masters of Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and Persia less than ten years after the death of their prophet. A breach had been made in the walls, and stimulating the zeal of his men to a transport of religious fury not to be understood by the colder minds of the West, the attacking chief hurled his men against the ramparts manned by the weary little band commanded and inspired to heroism by Clive. But the wild ferocity of the Mohammedan was met by the calm fatalism of the Hindu braced and strengthened by the stern resolution of the English and the genius of their leader. There was an hour of fighting too tremendous, too devastating to last. Then the furious wave of attack swept sullenly back, and in the darkness of night the whole force of the defeated prince began a retreat which meant not only the ruin of a petty

* See Kipling's story "On the City Wall" for a picturesque description of this festival and of the fierce emotions which it awakens even in our own day. Gibbon tells briefly but eloquently the story of Hosein's death.

sovereign, but the collapse of all the ambitious plans of Dupleix for a French empire in India. Within a year from the capture of Arcot, Chanda Sahib was murdered, Mohammed Ali was Nawab of the Carnatic, and the English council at Madras held the balance of power in India south of the Vindhya Hills.

In order to entirely catch the spirit of all these doings we should, perhaps, approach their study after a careful preliminary reading of the Arabian Nights. If we could see the world for a little through the eyes of one of those whimsical, despotic, alternately generous and fiendish caliphs and sultans who awed, attracted, repelled and wholly fascinated our minds in childhood, and who still exercise something of their old dominion over the imagination of some of us, we could better appreciate perhaps the problems of a restless, impetuous English youth dropped with little preparation into a cobweb of Asiatic intrigue. Little as our minds may take to that atmosphere of subtlety, treachery and cruelty out of a fairy tale, it is yet instructive. And as we shift our scene now to Bengal we must prepare for a little more of that murky air of terror and deceit which we associate—unfairly, in a sense, but not unnaturally, with Asia. Only perhaps we may move more quickly, endeavoring simply to put into clear light the swift succession of events by which the foundations of the British Empire in India were laid. All through we may see this or that Englishman,—Clive, Hastings, or later on, Cornwallis, Wellesley, Dalhousie, Lawrence and the rest—try for a time in bewildered puzzlement to understand the intrigues and adjust himself to the point of view of this world so fundamentally different from England, and then more or less suddenly according to temperament break abruptly away from it all and in impatient wrath cut the tangled knot with his sword. In the long run the speculative and devious minded Indian bows down in amazed awe before the man who dares to act and succeeds in acting. In intrigue few sons of the West can cope with the Asiatic. When they try, even when they succeed, as both Clive and Hastings did, it is partly because even the subtlety of India is lulled to a certain

carelessness by the comparative artlessness and straightforwardness of the European, and the result, successful at the time, undermines the very thing which is the strength of England in the East. Nine times out of ten she has refused to touch the tortuous diplomacy of enemies or allies, and pursuing her even way, following an intelligible and clearly stated policy, doing her best to understand the point of view of her associates but above all things adhering to her spoken and written word, she has built up her empire. Sometimes an English leader has added too much obstinacy to his native honesty, sometimes he has failed to cut his way out of the web surrounding him in time, sometimes he has erred in the opposite direction and resorted to force when patience would have served as well to dissipate an intrigue, and sometimes his placid confidence and his inability to read the signs about him have brought ruinous disaster and suffering. But in the main England's policy in India has been successful not in so far as she has learned the subtlety of her allies there but in so far as she has adhered to her own best traditions of honesty. And those whom she has conquered have fallen primarily because they would not understand that ill faith—that traditional weapon of Asiatic diplomacy—meant in their dealings with England a swift and deadly reward. The East India Company had been formed for trade and trade alone. Trade requires above all things security and good faith. When these vanished the traders became their own policemen. And to police India meant conquest.

Early in 1756 the English traders at Calcutta heard of the beginning of another war with France. Remembering the formidable activity of their enemies in the eastern seas a decade before they proceeded to fortify the city, for the Nawab of Bengal was as unable to protect his European tenants at Calcutta as the Nawab of the Carnatic had been to protect Madras in 1746. But the Nawab of Bengal unfortunately did not realize his helplessness, or rather the unreliable character of his overlordship. He was a young man utterly spoiled by absolute power and degraded by dissipation beyond the capacity to reason or investigate. He issued an

angry order for the destruction of the English fortifications. The order was not obeyed. In a fit of passionate energy the young Nawab, Suraj-u-Dowlah, seized the English trading post near his capital and marched on Calcutta. Utterly unprepared for defence, the city held out for four days, and then all the English residents who could get away fled in boats to such ships as could be reached in the river Hugli. But one hundred and forty-five Englishmen and one lady fell into the hands of the angry prince. These were questioned without avail in regard to the treasure which he believed to be hidden somewhere about the company's offices, and then were ordered to be safely guarded for the night. Not by his orders, though no one was punished later on, the one hundred and forty-six unhappy captives were thrust into a room about twenty feet long by fourteen wide, with two small grated windows. It was a hot summer night, the 20th of June, in a city abandoned in summer today by every European who can possibly leave, almost intolerable under the best of conditions. The horror of the Black Hole of Calcutta is best undescribed. Twenty-two men and the one woman survived till morning.

On that very day, June 20, 1756, Clive landed at Madras from a brief stay in England. As soon as the news of the Calcutta disaster arrived he was commissioned to go to Bengal at once with a small but adequate force to take such action as might be necessary. He soon compelled the Nawab to withdraw and to make such amends as could be made, but this was obviously insufficient. Clive was a soldier by instinct. Statecraft puzzled him, and yet the same directness of thought, the same capacity to see the essential thing and to estimate possibilities that guided him on the field of battle helped him now to deal with Suraj-u-Dowlah. He took some months to consider the situation and to attend to an infinite number of details, but by the coming of spring he had reached his decision. Scarcely a week had passed without some new proof of the Nawab's treacherous, shifty, altogether unreliable character. At home, from a seat in Parliament or in his own study, Clive or any one else might have argued on

many grounds for non-interference. He might have maintained that if the company's servants chose to trade in Bengal they must accept the risk. On the spot, however, it may be questioned whether such reasoning even occurred to him. The Nawab and his emperor at Delhi were no more Hindus than Clive himself. They ruled by right of force, as did every Mohammedan prince in India. When Suraj-u-Dowlah exerted that force to wantonly destroy a settlement whose rights were based on formal charter, he placed himself beyond the pale of every law but that of self preservation. His excesses had made him many enemies among his own chiefs, and Clive simply followed the line partly indicated by Dupleix. He indicated to an injured lord, an uncle of the Nawab, that his claims to the throne would be supported by the company. A flagrant act of treachery was made the definite occasion for war. And on the field of Plassey, June 26, 1757, Clive with three thousand men utterly crushed the great army of Suraj-u-Dowah. As six years before he had stood master of the Carnatic, so now—actually if not nominally—he was lord of Bengal.

Clive had solved his problem in his soldier's way,—the only way that seemed to him a satisfactory and permanent one. Yet clear and keen as was the mind of the great Englishman it may be questioned whether he at once saw that if Plassey had cut one knot it had presented for untanglement a puzzle beyond comparison more embarrassing. We must remember that he by no means intended to conquer Bengal, much less begin the conquest of India. From his point of view the victory of Plassey represented partly a measure of self-defence, and partly the punishment of a faithless and cruel despot administered by way of warning to others, and as a safeguard for the future. With a new Nawab on the throne who thoroughly understood the reason for his predecessor's humiliation, here might be reasonable ground for supposing that all would be well. And all might have been well if Clive had remained, simply because everyone, including the Nawab himself, knew that he was in the nature of the case supreme. But in February, 1760,

the victor of Plassey left for England and a situation developed so true to human nature that with the accustomed arrogance of those who came after the event we marvel that Clive himself did not foresee it. Here was a prince burdened with the full responsibility of government, yet paying what was practically tribute to a company of foreign traders at whose very nod he trembled. Here on the other hand, was a group of Englishmen who by their own might and steadfastness had struck down an army that outnumbered their own twenty times, had deposed a ruler and set up another in his place. The name of power and its responsibilities on the one hand, without the fact; *actual* supreme power on the other hand without its burdens. Moreover no law, no treaty could have made the situation essentially more tolerable. Nothing could blot out the memory of Plassey. And as long as Plassey was remembered so long would every man in Bengal know that in the long run it was more dangerous to anger the English than to disobey the Nawab. To please a servant of the company was to win the favor of the lords of the soil,—lords by the unanswerable argument of fact, to remain lords until by fact, not by foolish and meaningless decrees, they were deposed. Few men of any race can stand the terrible gift of power without responsibility. In the five years between Clive's departure in 1760 and his return in 1765, the men at Calcutta who withstood temptation, are obscured, alas, by the lurid light that has held up that shameful period as the worst in the annals of the English in India. Only when crime brought its reward of disaster, only when the maddened chiefs turned savagely on their oppressors and threatened for a time the destruction of all the English in Bengal did the directors at home realize the situation and send out to Calcutta the one man who could cope with it. In fierce anger and with an iron hand Clive came to cleanse the foulness and to remedy the evils of which he was in a measure the innocent cause. And the fundamental remedy that he found, carried to completion a little later by Warren Hastings, was—annexation. Not annexation in the sense of a wanton seizure of power, but simply the acceptance of responsibility

where power already existed. And so the East India Company—like the Nawabs, in nominal subjection to the Mogul Emperor—became sovereign ruler of seventy million Asiatics. A marvelous tale it is and deeply instructive if we read it with thought and sympathy,—few more so in all the annals of conquest.

How a little later Warren Hastings, who was a clerk in Bengal when Suraj-u-Dowlah made his tiger leap on Calcutta, became Governor General of the company's possessions in India, how he organized them and sought to protect them without further conquests, how he saw that war would mean victory, victory power, and power expansion, and so sought by every means to build up buffer states that would protect his own frontiers, how this fell to the ground and how Hastings found that in Benares and in Rohilcund and in the Carnatic he had—so to speak—to make war in order to avoid it, and how at last Cornwallis and Wellesley accepted the inevitable, disobeyed the company's orders and deliberately fought and conquered,—all this is a long and strange and most wonderful tale which all who wish to may read and meditate over. We have seen the beginning of it. Some of us will blame Clive for what he did and some will not. But at least we may know that it was not from lust of empire, not from unholy ambition that he fought and won, but because of strange and puzzling tangles of circumstance, tangles which he did not create, so that he was compelled to do something and tried to do what was best. He was assuredly a great man, at any rate,—no unworthy contemporary of Wolfe; and Arcot and Plassey are names not easily to be forgotten.

Cook and Phillip

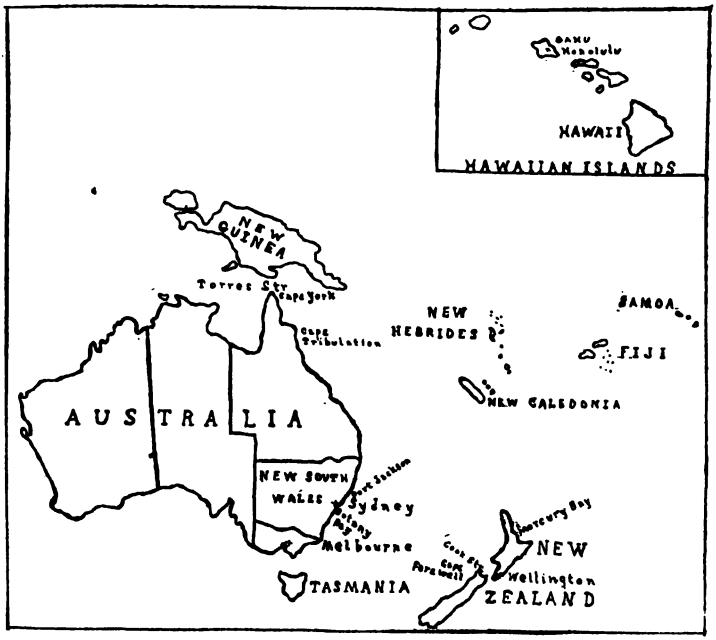
IN our last two studies we have dealt overmuch with fighting and diplomacy, perhaps. Our heroes have been warriors or warlike statesmen, and our pages have been full of the rivalry of contending nations. But if the foundations of the supremacy of the English race in America and India have been laid in the din of battle and the heat of passion, it is strangely and completely otherwise with British rule in the South Pacific. It has become so customary in historical study to consider that a state can only win and maintain its existence by means of war, that it is somewhat bewildering to approach the investigation of such a subject as the beginnings of the Australian Commonwealth, and indeed we may add, its growth to maturity. For here is a wealthy and powerful self-governing community that has never once had to defend its existence against a rival. Not a single war is there around which we may group our ideas as to the action of the drama. It has been under the wing of a warlike and war-scarred mother, it is true, but it has only needed nursing, never armed protection. This great island continent is the one part of the world in which Britain's claim was practically the first one entered, and in which that claim was never disputed.

It will be remembered that by the middle of the eighteenth century England's rule extended in Asia over only the cities of Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta; in America over the Atlantic states, Acadia, and the Hudson's Bay Territory; and in Africa over an ill-defined strip on the Gold Coast. That is to say, there was practically no empire except in America, and the British provinces there were divided, quarrelsome, and barely able to hold their own against a watchful and formidable foe. Thirteen years later Canada had changed hands, and Clive had laid the basis of the British Empire in India. Twenty years after the Peace of Paris the Atlantic states were independent. But before England had forgotten the triumphs of Wolfe and Clive, and before

she had realized that her first and most prosperous colonies were irretrievably severed from her rule, a second new world was being found, a new field on which to atone for her failure. For between the critical years of the Stamp Act and the surrender of Yorktown James Cook had done his work and had fallen in the far-off Pacific.

In the spring of 1768, the year in which the British House of Commons entered the second stage of its humiliating struggle with Wilkes, the year after Townshend's Revenue Act, the year before the appearance of the Letters of Junius,—in this year of the brewing of great things, the Royal Society represented to George III the desirability of watching from the South Seas the transit of Venus across the sun's surface. Happy it is for human nature that at such a time some men could be found to think of such a thing, and—still more strange—that the king could attend to the society's prayer and see that an expedition was equipped. The little ship *Endeavour* was fitted out, trained scientists were commissioned to accompany her, and James Cook, a lieutenant of the navy, was placed in command. James Cook was one of the last men in the world to be thought of as the conscious, fire-eating imperialist of the editorial or the political speech. He had risen from modest station by pure force of merit, until his reputation was assured as the best navigator in His Majesty's navy, and one of the wisest and clearest-headed men in the service. He had been with Wolfe at Quebec and had sailed in many seas, but he was not yet the Captain Cook whose name has been familiar to six generations of Englishmen as the pioneer of Britain in the South Pacific. Modest, practical, keen-eyed, a born sailor, and gifted with the imagination and the temperament of a scientist, he was to be one of the little band of famous men whose names are made immortal in the last ten years of life. When he sailed from Plymouth on a bright August day in 1768 he was entering all unknowing on the voyage that was to place his name with those of Drake and Anson, or even with the perhaps greater one of Vasco da Gama.

On the third of June, 1769, the astronomical observa-



Sketch Map of the Scene of Cook's Voyages

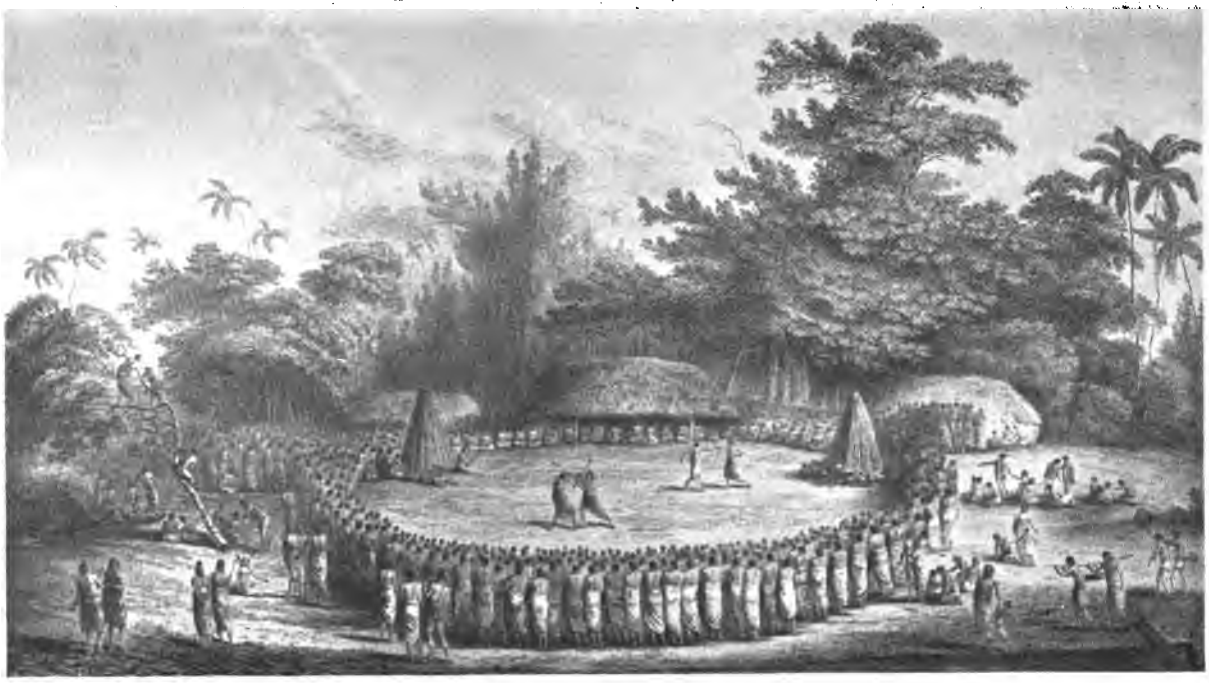
tions that were the prime object of the expedition were satisfactorily accomplished at the island of Tahiti. These watchings of the heavens need no comment, and we may assume without investigation that they answered their purpose. So friendly were the relations of the islanders and the Europeans that the descriptions of the place handed down read like extracts from Sydney's "Arcadia." To Cook and his companions as to many others after them it became the spot in the Pacific to be welcomed above all others, though it was not destined to become part of the Empire. But another task awaited the voyagers which suited the daring spirit of Cook better than the observation of planets or the lazy pleasures of Tahiti. Not for long could he endure the dreamy life, the enervating ease of this lotus island, and as the summer neared its height sailors and scientists were awakened to action by their commander. The ship was soon in trim

for a new voyage. She was headed south and west; Venus and Tahiti were forgotten; and all eyes were turned to the far horizon beyond which lay the mysterious *Terra Australis*. Away to the south and stretching to the Pole, men believed, lay this southern continent. Sailors had sighted capes or mountains or stretches of coast, and from their scattered observations the puzzled geographers at home made on their maps a vague stretch of land reaching from the frozen circle up to an uncertain distance into the Pacific. Here and there a name was assigned on the vague authority of some Dutch voyager exploring eastward from the Spice Islands. But little or nothing was positively known, and it was to clear away this cloud of ignorance that Cook headed the *Endeavour* for the far south in the midsummer of 1769.

Week after week the little ship sailed on with a fair wind, a dot on the vast expanse of the South Pacific. Now and then they sighted and passed some green Paradise of waving palm, fringed with its surf-beaten reef of coral. But there was no sign of any continent until at last late in August the explorers saw on the horizon rugged mountain peaks. Rapidly there came into clearer view the beautiful shores of New Zealand, and anchor was cast in the harbor of Tauranga. A landing was attempted in vain. The natives were hostile and formidable, and it was not worth while to risk the loss of life that would have accompanied a conflict. So the eager and sea-weary Englishmen moved northward, following the coast until they reached another bay where no suspicious savages forbade their landing. It was named Mercury Bay from the fact that the astronomers of the expedition here watched the transit of Mercury across the sun's surface and here with due formalities Cook hoisted the English flag taking possession of the country in the name of King George. But he soon assured himself that he had not found the continent of which he was in search. For he sailed completely around the two noble islands, and then without attempting to penetrate beyond the coast, he left behind him the strait that still bears his name, took leave of New Zealand at Cape Farewell, and headed west.

It was now the spring of 1770—or rather the autumn, for Christmas is midsummer in Australia, and the month of March is the time when relief begins to come after the long period of heat. So it was early in the rainy season when Cook sighted the coast to which he gave the name of New South Wales. No one knew as yet what this land might be, whether part of the Southern Continent or a great outlying island. But when anchor was cast the scientists of the ship eagerly landed to see what manner of vegetation and soil they might find, and from the wealth of spoil which they gathered they gave the place the name of Botany Bay. Notwithstanding his suspicion that his find might be the land discovered long before by Dutch sailors and named New Holland, Cook proclaimed here as in New Zealand the sovereignty of King George. It might be asserted, doubtless, that an ownership of over a century unsupported by any assertion of power or any attempt at either settlement or trade might well be considered void, and possibly Captain Cook so reasoned. Certainly the decline of Holland as a world power made her control of the South Pacific in the eighteenth century an impossibility, and the countrymen of Dirk Hartog and Abel Tasman made no effort to dispute the claim of their old commercial rivals to this vast prize which they had allowed to slip from their grasp. So the flag of England was hoisted at Botany Bay as at Mercury, and Cook began to coast cautiously on to the north, observng and making notes as he sailed. The reefs made the voyage a somewhat dangerous one, and at Cape Tribulation a spike of coral pierced the side of the vessel. But by some miracle it broke there and remained in the puncture it had made, so the crew were able to keep the ship afloat until she reached shore close by the mouth of a little river which Cook named after his rescued vessel. But in all permanent respects the voyage was a success. For two thousand miles the explorer sailed north, following the coast, until at last he came to Cape York, where a sharp turn to the west led him into the strait navigated by the Spaniard Torres one hundred and sixty years before. He followed it just far enough to make sure of the separation

An Offering Made before Captain Cook in the Sandwich Islands. From an old Engraving.



The Reception of Captain Cook in Hapaee. From an old Engraving.

Otira Gorge, Australia

Queenstown on the Wakatipu, New Zealand

between New Holland, or Australia, and New Guinea, and then sailed for home. In his own mind he was not satisfied that he had found the continent that he sought. To us his success seems complete, and we have given to the great land that he found for England the name that two hundred years ago was half mythical—*Terra Australis,* Australia.

Of Cook's next two voyages we must be satisfied with a mere notice. In July, 1772, he sailed once more from Plymouth to seek for a great Southern Continent other than New Holland. But the only one that could be found was one of ice. On the 30th of June, 1774, in Cook's own words, "we perceived the clouds over the horizon to be of an unusual snow-white brightness, which we knew announced our approach to field ice. Soon after it was seen from the topmast head, and at 8 o'clock we were close to its edge. It extended east and west far beyond the reach of our sight. . . . Ninety-seven ice hills were distinctly seen within the field, besides those on the outside, many of them very large, and looking like a ridge of mountains rising one above the other until they were lost in the clouds." So the explorer had to turn back and content himself with a careful investigation of the sea and islands farther north. He returned home finally with the conviction that with the exception of the land which he had found on his first voyage there was no southern continent to be found. His last voyage was undertaken for the purpose of finding the long sought Northwest passage by way of the Pacific, but it ended sadly enough. On the 14th of February, 1779, the great sailor met his death at the hands of savages on the island of Oahu in the Sandwich group.

There is something peculiarly dramatic in the time of Cook's life and voyages. The year of the discovery of New South Wales saw the beginning of the fatal administration of Lord North. The year in which he set sail on this third Pacific voyage was the year of the Declaration of Independence, and before his work on earth was ended Burgoyne had surrendered his army at Saratoga. As the oldest and greatest of the colonies were turning in fierce revolt to cut

asunder the ties that bound them to the home island, this single gallant English sailor, surrounded not by men of war but by men of science, was pointing his country to a new empire that might take the place of the one which was falling away. Far from the passions and prejudices of Westminster or Philadelphia the foundations were being marked out of a commonwealth that was to be as free as Massachusetts and as loyal as Yorkshire. Gloomy days were those for England, but the blunders of a foolish king and his worse than foolish abettors could not wholly thwart the destiny of the race that they disgraced. From the intrigues of the court, from the quibbles of debate, from the pettiness, the blunders, the ceaseless tragedy of civil war that fill the pages of history between 1770 and 1780, we may turn surely with a glad relief to those distant seas where James Cook sailed and thought and died.

Four years after the great navigator's death the American colonies had won the acknowledgment of their independence. Turgot's gloomy dictum that colonies, like fruit, would drop from the parent stem as they matured seemed to be justified by the facts. The theory that colonies were only to be encouraged in so far as they were of service to the mother country had received its death blow at Bunker Hill and Yorktown, and no nation of a large imperial patriotism had arisen to take its place. It was not a time, therefore, when generous idealism in colonial affairs was to be expected. The collapse of the old policy had left in most minds a more or less well defined conviction that colonies were a dangerous and unprofitable investment. The new economic teaching of the Physiocrats in France, and of Adam Smith in England, the theory of *laissez faire,* absolute freedom in industry and trade, led inevitably to the colonial theory implied in the saying of Turgot just quoted. One might indeed hope for courtesy, generosity even, rather than coercion in the future relations between England and the colonies which were left to her, but enthusiasm or such hopeful and patriotic launching of colonial enterprises as we might find in the days of Raleigh and Gilbert were assuredly not to be looked for. England

had blundered, had been humiliated, had been puzzled, bewildered, and—disillusioned.

Under such unpromising conditions, then, were taken the first steps toward the settlement of the vast island found for England by Captain Cook. No halo of romance, no chivalrous dreams of winning a new world to Christianity and civilization, no adventurous yearning for new things or even the thirst for gold threw a glittering veil over the beginnings of Australia. The suffering, the ferocity, the crimes, the weary struggles that might fill the annals of Quebec, of Mexico, of Virginia, or of Massachusetts are redeemed and half obscured for us by an ill-defined but very real something that idealizes and brightens the story for all time. But the foundations of Australia were laid not by men of the stamp of Champlain, of Cortez, of Walter Raleigh or of John Winthrop, but by a weary, travel-worn, crime-stained band of convicts sent thousands of miles over seas by the stern laws of their country to labor or starve. From so unpromising a seed has grown the great commonwealth of the South Seas.

In August, 1786, Lord Sydney, at that time Home Secretary in the government of William Pitt, proposed to his colleagues the formation of a convict settlement in New South Wales. Until a short time before, the criminal population of Britain had been very conveniently shipped off to the Plantations in America. They had been little or no expense to the government, for contractors had been ready and eager to pay five to twenty pounds a head for what was to them a cheap lot of valuable slave labor. But all this had been ended by the American Revolution, and it was no easy matter after 1783 to devise a new criminal policy that would be satisfactory. A penal settlement had been tried on the coast of Africa, but with disastrous results, and under the harsh laws of the time the gaols of Britain were becoming alarmingly crowded. But now Lord Sydney believed that he had in New South Wales "a remedy for the evils likely to result from the late alarming and numerous increase of felons in this country, and more particularly in the metropolis." He drew up an elaborate report, recommending a penal colony

and basing his facts on the observations of Captain Cook and the most eminent of Cook's scientific associates, Sir Joseph Banks. Arrangements were made as to provisions, guards for the convict ships, surgeons and medical supplies, and the method by which in time, it was hoped, the colony might be made self-supporting. Even the reformatory side of the problem was thought of, and it was suggested that a new continent so far from the scenes and companions of their evil life would give the convicts a far better chance of reformation than either the old plantation system or confinement at home. The report was acted upon.

Captain Arthur Phillip, a naval officer of experience and ability, was chosen as governor and commander-in-chief over the territory of New South Wales, and with shrewdness and energy he bent himself to the task of correcting and supplementing the arrangement of the government. His point of view may be best indicated by one or two of his suggestions. He desired that a supply ship suitably provided with carpenters and other skilled laborers should go ahead of the fleet in order that huts and general accommodation might be ready for the troops and convicts on their arrival. "During the passage," he wrote, "when light airs or calms permit, I shall visit the transports to see that they are kept clean and receive the allowance ordered by Government, and at these times shall endeavor to make them sensible of their situation, and that their happiness or misery is in their own hands." And again in a letter he spoke with sufficient positiveness on a point less obvious then than it would be now. "The laws of this country will, of course, be introduced into New South Wales, and there is one which I would wish to take place from the moment His Majesty's forces take possession of the country—that there can be no slavery in a free land, and, consequently, no slaves." Finally, in urging encouragement on the part of the government to free emigration he expressed a conviction which was natural enough, and which is worth quoting in order that we may see the problem, but which was inevitably annulled later on by the progress of events. "As I would not wish convicts to lay the foundations

of an empire, I think they should *ever* remain separate from the garrison and other settlers that may come from Europe, and not be allowed to mix with them even after the seven or fourteen years for which they are transported may be expired." But the years to come were kinder to the outcasts than Governor Phillip. Many of the noblest gentlemen of England bear names inherited from brutal lords of the age of force. And many of the worthiest names in Australia were once borne by men sent out as convicts to Botany Bay.

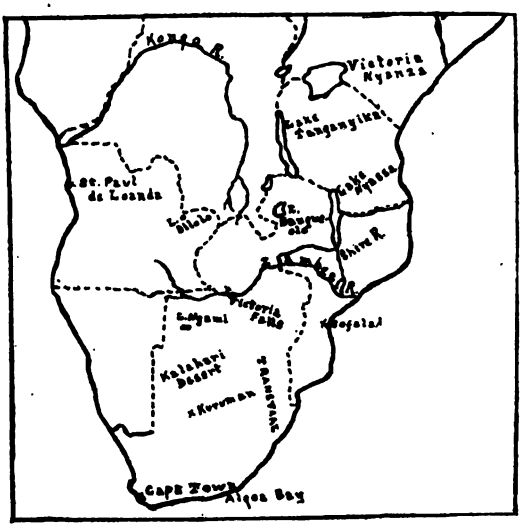
In May, 1787, the fleet of eleven ships left Spithead, and in January of the following year they sailed into the harbor entered and named by the companions of Cook eighteen years before. There seemed, however, to be no suitable position for the settlement there, and the anchorage was bad, so while preparations were made at once for disembarkation Captain Phillip and several of his officers went off in three boats to coast along to the north in search of a better site. This they found at Port Jackson. "We got into Port Jackson early in the afternoon," wrote the leader himself, "and had the satisfaction of finding the finest harbor in the world, in which a thousand sail of the line may ride in perfect security." So Port Jackson was at once substituted for Botany Bay. Just before the transfer was arranged the two ships of the famous and ill-fated French explorer, La Perouse, came to anchor at the side of the English fleet, and the officers had friendly conference. Perhaps the few days' difference in the time of arrival of the English and French ships determined the political future of Australia. But be that as it may, when La Perouse sighted the coast of New South Wales he sighted English ground, and by the waters of Port Jackson was rapidly built the cluster of huts and barracks to which Phillip gave the name of Sydney. In the pompous, artificial verse of the eighteenth century one of the colonists three years later expressed the hope of the little settlement. Through the stiff, mechanical lines beats a largeness of aspiration that shadowed forth quite unmistakably the greatness of the structure whose foundations were being thus humbly laid by convicts and their guards:

When Sydney Cove her lucid bosom swells,
Courts her young navies, and the storm repels;
High on a rock, amid the troubled air,
Hope stood sublime, and waved her golden hair.
"Hear me!" she cried, "ye rising realms record
Time's opening scenes and Truth's unerring word;
There shall broad streets their stately walls extend,
The circus widen and the crescent bend;
There ray'd from cities o'er the cultured land,
Shall bright canals and solid roads expand.
Embellish'd villas crown the landscape scene,
Farms wave with gold, and orchards blush between,
While with each breeze approaching vessels glide,
And northern treasures dance on every tide!"
Then ceased the nymph; tumultuous echoes roar,
And Joy's loud voice was heard from shore to shore;
Her graceful steps descending press'd the plain,
And Peace, and Arts, and Labor joined the train.

The prophecy was fulfilled. Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and all the scores of busy centers of healthy life that dot the map of the vast island were formed in peace and have grown in peace. The landmarks of Australian progress have been neither battles nor treaties, but simply the grant by England of responsible government, the discovery of gold, and the union of the colonies into one commonwealth. In the Soudan and in South Africa, Australians have died for the Empire and for the honor of their loved mother island. But the waters of Port Jackson and Port Phillip have never echoed to a cannon shot fired in anger, and the land won for the English race by these two patient, noble-hearted sailors in the discharge of their duty has grown to be the one great nation of which we know that has never had an enemy.

David Livingstone

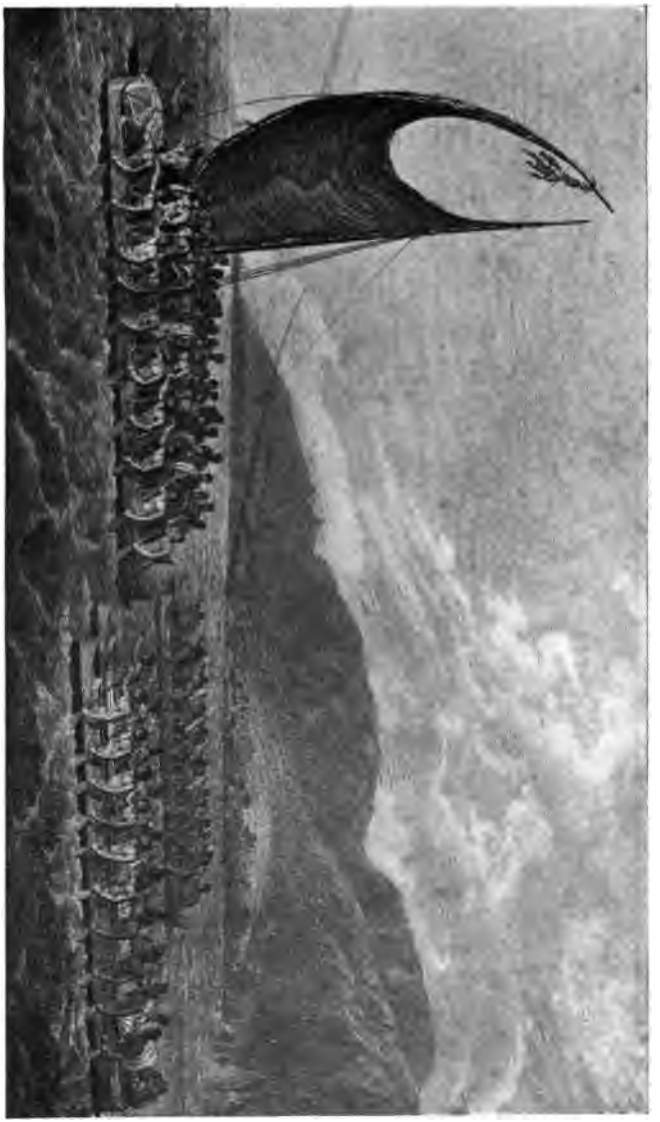
PERHAPS we are beginning already to modify our ideas as to the motives that have inspired the builders of the Empire. Greed and unscrupulous ambition are, alas, human attributes not confined to those who fare forth into new lands, and if they show themselves with a peculiar lurid distinctness when a powerful race is in rivalry with a weaker one, yet it may be doubted whether they are really much more evident on the Gold Coast than in New York. Just as we should hesitate to use the word "greed" when we see an able and astute business man growing wealthy, so we should hesitate to use that or any other one word to describe the infinitely complex motives and forces that have guided and inspired the pioneers of empire. Back of all the colonies and dependencies of Great Britain, be it remembered, stands the triple partnership of the race whose blood, in varying proportions, runs in the veins of most of the readers of these words. We are trying to understand one unique manifestation of the genius of these races, and as to form a literary criticism that will account in a single phrase for Spenser, Burke, Gibbon, and Shelley would be to achieve an absurdity, so an appreciation of the complex and infinite variety of expansion in all its phases is the most fundamental lesson that we can learn about the impressive phenomena of empire. All of this we shall say again in some form or other, for it is the one thing not to be forgotten, but we shall enforce it concretely now once more in a study of the beginnings of British South Africa. The Pilgrim Fathers, the companions of John Smith, the founders of the East India Company, Clive, Cook, the convicts of Botany Bay—all have been pioneers of empire, and it would be difficult, perhaps, to assign the same impelling motive to any two of them. Now we turn to a field in which the central figure is a missionary, son-in-law of another missionary as noble as himself, one of the great band of exalted spirits who count among their number Paul the Apostle and Francis Xavier, St. Patrick and Brebeuf, Augustine and Bon-



Sketch Map of South Africa

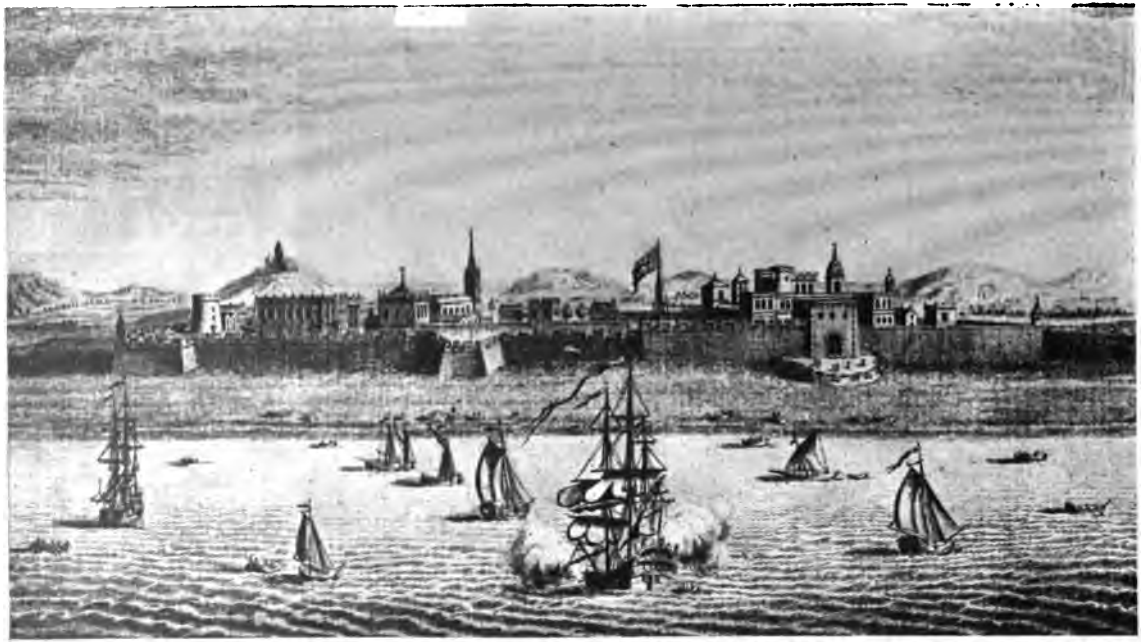
iface, men who have willingly devoted their lives to the hard service of carrying to degraded and brutal souls a high ideal, a noble example, a ray of divine light whose kindling and whose spread might mean the expansion of the Kingdom of Heaven.

The southern point of Africa was not made the seat of a European settement because it looked inviting. There are few more forbidding coasts. Harbors are rare and the gigantic terrace formation of the country topped by the great plateaus—often fiercely hot deserts—known as the Karroos, seemed to be a discouragement to exploration and settlement that scarcely needed the additional terror of wild beasts and wild men. But it had one advantage, and it was that one point that brought about the Dutch settlement in the middle of the seventeenth century,—its position on the route to the Indies. It will be remembeed that it was by Portuguese navigators that the Cape route was opened, and that the East Indies trade was consequently in the hands of the Portuguese during the sixteenth century. But we have seen how towards



Tereoboo, King of Owyhee, Bringing Presents to Captain Cook

The Rock of Trichinopoly. From an old Engraving.



Fort St. George on the Cormandel Coast. From an old Print.

William Pitt, Lord Chatham, Famous English Statesman.

the end of that century there came two revolutions in Europe which directly affected the East: the temporary absorption of Portugal by Spain in 1580 and the revolt of the Netherlands. Holland shot up into a great maritime and commercial power with entire contempt for the Spanish and Portuguese monopoly of the Indies, and during the seventeenth century much of the eastern trade passed into the hands of the Dutch. Just as Sofala and St. Paul de Loanda, therefore, had been

Frederick the Great of Prussia

used as a refreshment station by the Portuguese, Cape Town was founded for the same purpose by the Dutch. But under the rules of the Dutch East India Company the colony remained little more than a stopping place. The people at home, as a matter of fact, never looked upon the Cape as a real colony, and never seriously thought of there being anything to be gained by going there. Farms and little settlements did spread inland a short distance in spite of the fre-

Maori King, New Zealand

quent attacks of Bushmen and Kaffirs and the constant trouble from wild beasts. But there was no prospect of its ever becoming a really important settlement, and the decay of the trading company during the eighteenth century brought further trouble in the way of misgovernment and hard times.

In 1793 England and Holland joined the other nations of Europe in war against the new French Republic. Like all others who measured strength on land with the youthful giant, Holland, divided sorely within herself, found that she was no match for her opponent. In 1795 she yielded to fate, submitted to French arms, expelled the Prince of Orange, and became the Batavian Republic under French supervision. England's ally thus became an enemy, and the island kingdom prepared to widen her circle of attack and strike at the trade and sea-power of her adversaries. Since the days of Dupleix and Clive she too had become a power in the East. As the Portuguese and Dutch had needed a half-way station so now did the English. The most obvious blow therefore would be one that would not only cripple Holland but result in a

Mehemet Ali

valuable acquisition. Accordingly, in June, 1795, an English fleet and army appeared in Simon's Bay on the south of the little peninsula that terminates in the Cape of Good Hope. The colonists, in doubt whether their loyalty to Holland and the exalted Stadholder should extend to the new Batavian Republic, abandoned Simonstown, and after several half-hearted attempts at resistance, Cape Town Castle was surrendered on the 16th of September. In 1814 this was made final by treaty, and the Cape Colony became the nucleus for British expansion in South Africa.

Captain Cook. From a Painting by Dance.

At this time the European population numbered about 30,000, practically all Dutch, with another 30,000 slaves and about 20,000 native servants. But an inflow of English settlers began at once. There were hard times in England after the war, and many a hard-pressed mechanic and farmer was glad to turn to the new lands over seas. A very natural racial grouping caused the English immigrants to draw together to the east of the old Dutch settlement, centering about Algoa Bay, and Port Elizabeth became their seaport. But there was a good deal of inevitable mingling, and on the whole, relations were quite friendly. The friction of which we have seen the result in these later days began, not in disagreement between English and Dutch settlers, but between the Dutch settlers and the British Government.

In order to clear the way to an understanding of British expansion in South Africa we ought to follow three phases of its development, all of which had vitally important influences on the colony: the work of the London Missionary Society, the friction between the Boers and the British Government, and the relations with the natives. To study all of these would be a task not here to be attempted. Just at present we must confine ourselves to one line of investigation,—the pioneer work of the missionaries, with the hope that a little light may incidentally be thrown on other phases of South African history.

On November 4, 1794, was held the first meeting of the London Missionary Society. In March, 1799, four of its missionaries landed at the Cape and began the work which was to be marked by the great names of Moffat and Livingstone. Their first labors were with the Hottentots and the Bantu tribes known as the Kosas or Kaffirs, but not satisfied with this they pushed their stations farther and farther inland until they were preaching the Gospel and teaching the arts of civilized life far beyond the bounds of Cape Colony. Gradually they acquired great influence. Their intellectual superiority, their apparently supernatural knowledge of the laws of nature, their indifference to danger, their fervent enthusiasm all powerfully affected the fierce but simple-

Aurungzeb, the Grand Mogul, Emperor of Hindustan.
From an old Engraving.

minded natives, until in many cases the missionary became the all-powerful prime minister of a great chief.

Perhaps even their uplifting effect on the savage tribes was not more important to them than was their service to civilization as its pioneers. Few merchants, except the fierce slave-traders, marching at the head of armed bands, would venture into the wilderness with the simple courage of the self-devoted missionary. And perhaps when the high pre-

View of Cape Town from Amsterdam Fort. From an old Engraving.

cepts of the religion of Christ penetrated but lightly into the crude minds and fierce hearts of the blacks, there remained fixed with some persistence the lessons of civilized living, the beginnings of a more rational life, the first faint stirring of the divine restlesssness and longing for something better than their degradation which might do for the Hottentot and Zulu what the lessons of Boniface did for the savages of Germany. Feeble as the result must have seemed, the work of the missionaries was tremendously worth doing. The Hottentots and Kaffirs of South Africa are not like the Australian blacks or the American Indians as regards the effects of European civilization. They thrive instead of withering in its presence, and in Cape Colony with a total population of 1,600,000 the colored inhabitants number 1,200,000, or over 75 per cent. Any efforts directed toward civilizing the natives are of untold value to the colony, and in such efforts the missionaries have been easily foremost. But in order to really appreciate the point of all this we must take a concrete example, and that example may as well be the grandest. Even the simplest narrative of the work of David Livingstone is an epic, condensed, it is true, but holding in its bare facts and uncouth

Reception of Livingstone by an African Chief

names all the majesty, the mystery, the terror, and the poetry of the Dark Continent.

David Livingstone was born at Blantyre, on the Clyde, near Glasgow, March 19, 1813. His parents were poor people of lowly station in life, for which he was always in later life unfeignedly thankful. Not that he was particularly democratic. "The mass of the working people of Scotland," he wrote himself, "have read history, and are no levellers. They rejoice in the memories of Wallace and Bruce, 'and a' the lave.' While foreigners imagine we want the spirit to overturn aristocracy, we in truth hate those stupid revolutions which sweep away time-honored institutions, dear alike to rich and poor." But there was a training in poverty, and a discipline in his hard environment whose value was beyond question—little as he could in boyhood foresee the peculiar need for endurance and patience, which life was to bring him. His father was a stern, keen, religious Scot of the old school, and many a thrashing was earned for the boy by his preference for sciences to "The Cloud of Witnesses" and Wilberforce's "Practical Christianity." Yet he responded heartily to the best things in his father's and mother's teaching. His boyhood was of the kind that is good to con-

River Scenery on the West Coast of Africa

template,—healthy and sound physically, mentally, and spiritually. That is to say he was an ordinary boy of the best type, a good walker, a good swimmer, a lover of healthy pleasure, and yet one who would willingly help his mother and even scrub the floor for her—albeit with the door barred against the observation of his companions. At the age of ten he started to work in a cotton mill; but he was true to his Scotch instinct, and his first week's wages bought a book wherewith to continue his studies. For he was already showing that persistence which in later life became almost terrible. He was convinced that only by hard work and study could he make anything of himself and life that would be worth while. And once this conviction was reached only overwhelming disaster could have thrust him from the path he had set himself to tread. This amazing strength of will combined with his utter self-devotion made him one of the world's great men,—the David Livingstone before whom good men and bad men alike bow as to a king.

So much for his training. At the age of twenty-five he decided to be a medical missionary (he had already been studying medicine for some years, earning money in the summer and attending lectures in the winter at Glasgow) and on December 8, 1840, having received his degree the preceding

Government Offices and Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, Australia

Parliament House, Cape Town, South Africa

Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony, South Africa

Government House, Cathedral, and House of Parliament, Wellington, New Zealand.

Captain Arthur Phillip. From an old Engraving.

month, he sailed for South Africa under the direction of the London Missionary Society. After a voyage of five months he landed at the Cape, and met there his first great disappointment. For to his dismay he found that there were already too many missionaries there, and that they were most lamentably divided into cliques, spending their best energy in quarrels and disputation. He himself aroused fierce accusations against his orthodoxy by a sermon that he preached there, and he was filled with indignation and disgust. Judging by the Cape, there were already too many laborers in the vineyard. But Livingstone realized that no such difficulties existed in the interior. At Algoa Bay he started in an ox-wagon for Dr. Moffat's station at Kuruman, seven hundred miles from the coast. There under a congenial and great

hearted preceptor, he set himself to learn the language, to estimate the character and needs of the people, and to use his medical skill. This last was of immense value to him, and though the simple-minded natives often made impossible demands yet the relief he could give to many of them was very great. With his natural tact, good-nature, common sense and dignity he soon acquired no small influence throughout a considerable part of Bechuanaland, for he made frequent tours that carried him hundreds of miles from Kuruman, and his mastery of the language rivalled that of Moffatt himself. "I have an immense practice," he wrote to Sir Risden Bennett; "patients walk one hundred and thirty miles for my advice. This is the country for a medical man, but he must leave fees out of the question. They have much more disease than I expected. They are nearly naked, and endure the scorching heat of the day and the chills at night in that condition. Add to this that they are absolutely omnivorous. Indigestion, rheumatism, ophthalmia are the prevailing diseases."

After two years' work at Kuruman he moved two hundred miles further up country to the valley of Mabotsa—where he had the adventure with a lion of which we have all read. Years afterwards when his body was brought by his faithful followers to England it was the false joint in his arm caused by the lion's bite that enabled his friends to identify with certainty the great explorer's mortal remains. But that was all far distant then, and it is almost with a chuckle of reminiscent excitement that he tells the story in the "Missionary Travels and Researches." In 1844: "I screwed up my courage (at Kuruman) to put a question beneath one of the fruit-trees, the result of which was that I became united in marriage to Mr. Moffat's eldest daughter Mary. Having been born in the country, and being expert in household matters, she was always the best spoke in the wheel at home: and when I took her on two occasions to Lake Ngami and far beyond, she endured more than some who have written large books of travels." There was a year of happy married life at Mabotsa, another, forty miles

north at Chounam, still another forty miles north again at Kolobeng, and then the events began to take shape which finally turned the devoted missionary into an explorer.

But let us just have one glimpse first of the life of these two:

Building, gardening, cobbling, doctoring, tinkering, carpentering, gunmending, farriering, wagon-mending, preaching, schooling, lecturing on physics according to my means, besides a chair in divinity to a class of three, fill up my time. . . . My wife made candles, soap, and clothes, and thus we have attained to the indispensable accomplishments of a missionary family in Central Africa—the husband a jack-of-all-trades without doors, and the wife a maid-of-all-work within.

But two great shadows stood over the little mission at Kolobeng and threatened its destruction. To the east lay the Transvaal, whence armed parties of Boers came ever and anon to raid the native villages for slaves. And there came a long, severe drought which must surely, thought the savages, be the punishment sent by their angry gods for the crime of turning to the new God of Livingstone. No personal hostility was involved in this, for they loved the kindly teacher who had brought them wisdom and had healed them in sickness. But no rain came, and the stream was drying up, so the gods must assuredly be angry, and wise as the white man was, neither he nor his God could bring an end to the drought. He could and did help for a time by personal entreaty to hold off attacks from the Boers. But it could only be for a time, for his point of view irritated them. To them the natives were good only for slaves,—otherwise to be killed on sight as one might a mosquito. "You must teach the blacks that they are not our equals," they said to Livingstone. "You might as well try to teach the baboons." To which the missionary quietly replied by offering to test whether the Boers could read better than his native attendants,—an answer conclusive to him, but only irritating to the stubborn minds of the Dutch.

The only remedy for the situation was to be found in migration. But on the east lay the Transvaal, on the south were the villages of the Bechuanas, on the west and north

stretched the waste of the Kalahari desert. There was rumor, indeed, of a lake far north, beyond the desert, and of a great chief who welcomed strangers to the broad lands of the Makololo. No white man had ever crossed the Kalahari, but if it could be done a refuge might be found for the friends of Livingstone. Just as the missionary was anxiously debating the matter with himself there came from the south two English hunters, Oswell and Murray, both of them brave, high-minded and enterprising men, and to them Livingstone unfolded his problem. They at once seized with eagerness on the plan of crossing the desert, volunteered to join him, and on the first of June, 1849, started off on what proved to be a toilsome and even perilous journey,—the first of Livingstone's explorations. It was wholly successful. Lake Ngami was discovered on the first of August and with it a beautiful country of lakes and rivers and great trees, so though they could not then penetrate to the country of the Makololo they returned to Kolobeng with the good news. Thy were only just in time, for the tribe was on the brink of destruction, but now the drought began to come to an end, and Kolobeng was not wholly deserted just yet.

After another journey to Lake Ngami, a conference with the chief of the Makololo, and a further excursion to the north with Oswell ending in the discovery of the Zambesi, Livingstone came to a definite decision as to his duty. His children were suffering from fever ,and ought to go home with their mother to England while he returned to the interior. For a vast field north of Lake Ngami called him with a stern insistence from which he could not escape. He knew well that for one man who would penetrate into the unknown wilderness and defy its privations there were scores who would follow. He doubtless saw as clearly as we do the evils that would creep into Central Africa in the track of the white men. But no reader of Livingstone's own narrative will question for a moment his decision that the unspeakable evils and darkness that he saw there far exceeded any that might come from unworthy whites who would follow him in the years to come. European civilization, or let us say British

civilization was not ideal. Livingstone would not have claimed that it was or that he could expect all Englishmen in Africa to have his own single-minded devotion to the good of his fellow-men and the extension of the religion and principles of Christ. But taken all in all England stood for light, for righteousness, and for progress; Central Africa was dark, degraded and stagnant. One man could not uplift a continent. But one man *could* break a path into the wilderness and let in the light, and this Livingstone increasingly felt that he was called of God to do. To the directors of the London Missionary Society he stated his resolve in a letter full of pathos and deadly earnestness:

Nothing but a strong conviction that the step will lead to the glory of Christ would make me orphanize my children. Even now my bowels yearn over them. They will forget me; but I hope when the day of trial comes I shall not be found a more sorry soldier than those who serve an earthly sovereign. Should you not feel yourself justified in incurring the expense of their support in England I shall feel called upon to renounce the hope of carrying the Gospel into that country. But stay. I am not sure. So powerfully am I convinced that it is the will of our Lord I should, I will go, no matter who opposes; but from you I expect nothing but encouragement. I know you wish as ardently as I can that all the world may be filled with the glory of the Lord.

So on April 23, 1852, he saw his wife and four children off for England, and turned once more from Cape Town to the interior with aching heart and unswerving determination. All the home he had was at Kolobeng, but before he reached it bad news came in a letter from the chief, Sechele. Its purport is sufficiently told in a letter written by Livingstone to his wife a few days after, in which he tells the story —an old one in South Africa—of a Boer raid.

The Boers [he wrote,] gutted our house. They brought four wagons down, and took away sofa, table, bed, all the crockery, your desk (I hope it had nothing in it. Have you the letters?), smashed the wooden chairs, took away the iron ones, tore out the leaves of all the books and scattered them in front of the house; smashed the medicine bottles, windows, oven door: took away the Smith-bellows, anvil, all the tools,

three corn mills, a bag of coffee for which I paid £6, and lots of coffee, tea, sugar, which the gentlemen who went north left. . . . They set fire to the town, and the heat forced the women to fly, and the men to huddle together on the small hill in the middle of the town. The smoke prevented them seeing the Boers, and the cannon killed sixty Bakwains. The Boers then came near to kill and destroy them all; but the Bakwains killed thirty-five of them and many horses. They fought the whole day; but the Boers could not dislodge them. . . . [And in a letter to a friend he adds]—The Boers are mad with rage against me because my people fought bravely. It was I, they think, that taught them to shoot Boers. Fancy your Reverend Friend teaching the young idea to shoot Boers, and praying for a blessing on the work of his hands.

So much for the coöperation he could expect from the only white neighbors he had, in his lonely struggle for the uplifting of the black race that he loved and believed in.

But now, leaving Boers and Bakwains far behind him, he turned resolutely to the north, was received with royal welcome by his friends the Makololo, gathered among them a little group of followers—childlike of mind, dauntless of heart, and true as steel—and launched his canoes on the Zambesi. This was the river that he and Oswell had discovered. Now he intended to explore it to its source and penetrate to the Portuguese settlements on the west coast. In February, 1854, after three weary months, he reached the watershed marked by Lake Dilolo, whence he pushed on by rivers and overland to the town of St. Paul de Loanda. How to paint the heart-breaking weariness, the pangs and weakness of fever, the constant need of cheering and aiding his black followers, the danger from savage beasts and cunning foes who would block his path, the infinite need of patience, hope, tact, and courage which burdened the spirit of the great explorer in the long march would daunt the pen of the most reckless chronicler. One would not marvel so much if he had kept his strength. But he was no man of iron, impervious to the attacks of heat or chill or fever. Day after day he would push doggedly on with head giddy

and bursting, with his hand shaking too much to permit of correct use of his instruments for observation, and with his whole frame weakened by illness, fatigue, and privation. Not all of his men were as faithful as the Makololo, and once mutiny showed itself. He had given the grumblers an ox to kill and lain down in his tent, half in a stupor with headache and fever. But the din they made over their fire was intolerable, and his third request for quiet was answered by "an impudent laugh. Knowing that discipline would be at an end if this mutiny was not quelled, and that our lives depended on vigorously upholding authority, I seized a double-barrelled pistol and darted out with such a savage aspect as to put them to precipitate flight. They gave no further trouble." Every chief through whose land they marched demanded tolls and presents. And when at last the Portuguese settlements were reached the explorer was dangerously near to the end of his strength. Happily both the Portuguese and the one Englishman in St. Paul de Loanda outdid themselves in courtesy and kindness. Livingstone was cared for by generous friends and by the surgeon of an English man-of-war opportunely in the harbor, though only after seven months of rest was he yet finally himself again, ready for his return journey eastward.

Here in Angola, along the borders of which province he was exploring during the later part of 1854 and the first months of 1855, he met again the old enemy that had so angered him at the border of the Transvaal,—slavery and the slave trade. During the remainder of his life there was nothing that he set himself so earnestly to combat. But here there was little that he could do. He simply saw,—and his published opinion later on angered the Portuguese not a little—that as long as slavery prevailed with its degradation, its inter-tribal wars, its raids of the strong on the weak, no healthy traffic could be opened between this coast and the interior. He reached a similar conclusion regarding the east coast a year later, where his path from Quitimane to the Victoria Falls was at once used by the slave traders. And thereafter he declared war more than ever against the desperate

evil of this "open sore of the world" as he called it.* But in the meantime his prime business was to blaze a trail and to make plain to himself and the world the whole course of the Zambesi. So back to his starting point he went, and thence past the Victoria Falls—seen and named by him first of all white men, so far as is known—clear through to the east coast. It was three years (April, '53-May, '56) since he had seen the ship at Cape Town bear his wife and children home to England, and during those three years his perseverance and devotion had made necessary an entire reconstruction of the map of South Africa.

But is not this enough to make clear our conception of this missionary pioneer of empire? We cannot tell the full story of his life, and this little fragment will sufficiently show that which we wish to emphasize. We have seen that the road to the country of the Chartered Company and Cecil Rhodes was opened not by an ambitious conqueror or cold imperialist but by the noblest and least selfish of modern apostles. Here was a man who rebuked the Boers for cruelty and selfishness before Johannesburg was dreamed of, who strove to turn the paths of commerce away from Sofala and Angola and to open up a British road from the interior to the coast long before the wildest visionary could have looked for the vast creation of a British South Africa from Tanganyika and Nyassa to the Cape. And he did it with his eyes open—not to the coming of empire, indeed, but to the certain coming of his countrymen. "I beg to direct your attention to Africa," he said earnestly at Cambridge during his year home in 1857. "I know that in a few years I shall be cut off in that country, which is now open. *Do not let it be shut again.* I go back to Africa to try to open a path for commerce and Christianity; do you carry out the work which I have begun." He did go back, under the direction of the British Government this time, to explore the river Shire and

*In a letter to the *New York Herald* whose closing words are inscribed on Livingstone's tomb in Westminster Abbey. "All I can add in my loneliness is, may Heaven's rich blessings come down on every one, American, English, or Turk, who will help to heal the open sore of the world."

Lake Nyassa, and then later on the country about Lakes Tanganyika and Bangweolo. We cannot even outline his bitter struggles with the Arab slave traders, his failures and disappointments, his loss of his true-hearted wife—buried in the forest by the great baobab tree on "Shupanga brae"—his well-known relief by Stanley after one period of two years utter submergence in the wilderness, and his lonely death in the marshy jungles south of Lake Bangweolo. All through there was the same indomitable energy, the same refusal to regard anything but his duty, the same single-hearted earnestness in opening the way for the light to enter.

So now we have studied the beginnings of England's empire in three continents, through the instrumentality of three very different men,—Clive, Cook, and Livingstone. All saw what they were doing, and did it with their might. Not one saw the empire even in vision. Each one, soldier, sailor, and missionary, did his duty as he saw it far away from the little home island that all three loved; and from their graves sprang the Imperial England of which they and many others of whom they are the types were—all unknowing—the founders.

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GLOSSARY OF FOREIGN WORDS

Authorities vary somewhat in their spelling and pronunciation of proper names. The following list is based upon that of the Century Dictionary:

Algoa, al-*go*-a; Aurungzeb, aw-rung-*zeeb;* Arcot, ahr-*cot;* Bechuanaland, betch-oo-*ah*-na-land; Bangweolo, bang-we-*o*-lo; Brahmaputra, brah-mah-*poo*-tra; Carnatic, kar-*nat*-ic; Chanda Sahib, *chan*-da *sah*-ib; Dupleix, dü-*plakes;* Ghats, gats; Himalaya, him-a-*lay*-a; Hyderabad, hi-der-a-*bahd;* Husein, hoo-*sane;* Kalahari, kah-lah-*hah*-re; Kabul, kah-*bool;* laissez faire, *less*-a fair; Makololo, mah-ko-*lo*-lo; Madras, ma-*dras;* Mahrattas, ma-*rat*-az; Moarram, moo-*har*-ram; Ngami, *ngah*-me; Nizam, nih-*zam;* Nawab, nah-wob; Oahu, o-*ah*-hoo or *wah*-hoo; Punjab, pun-*jahb;* Panipat, pahn-e-*paht;* Pondicherry, pon-de-*sherry;* Rajputana, rahzh-poo-*tah*-na; Sofala, so-*fah*-lah; Samarcand, sahm-ahr-*kahnd;* Shah Jehan, shah ye-*hahn;* Tahiti, tah-*he*-te; Turgot, tur-*go;* Tanganyika, tahn-gahn-*ye*-kah; Tamerlane, tam-er-*lane;* Taj Mahal, tahzh me-*kahl;* Trichinopoly, trich-in-*op*-o-ly; Vindhya, *vind*-yah; Xavier, *zav*-e-er.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

PIONEERS OF EMPIRE—LORD CLIVE

1. What was Robert Clive's early experience in India? 2. How had England and France been drawn into war at this time? 3. What part did Clive take in hostilities? 4. Give a brief statement of the physiography of India. 5. How has the history of India been affected by these exterior conditions? 6. Describe the coming of the Mogul emperors. 7. What signs of weakness did this Mogul Empire at length show? 8. What potentate interfered in the quarrel between the French and English and with what result? 9. What idea of securing control suggested itself to Dupleix? 10. How did he improve his opportunities? 11. How did the English act in view of these developments? 12. What was the result of Clive's trip to Trichinopoly? 13. Describe his attack on Arcot. How did his victory affect the native princes? 14. What forces were at once sent against Clive? 15. Describe the attack upon Arcot. 16. How do English diplomatic methods differ from those of the Asiatic? 17. What led to the native attack on Calcutta? 18. How did it result? 19. What was the tragedy of the Black Hole? 20. How did Clive bring about the fall of the Nawab of Bengal? 21. What did he expect to achieve by the Victory of Plassey? 22. What was the result to Calcutta? 23. Why was Clive sent back to India at that time? 24. Of what long series of conquests was this the beginning?

COOK AND PHILLIP

1. How extensive was British rule in the middle of the eighteenth century? 2. What circumstances led to Captain Cook's journey to the South Seas? 3. Who was Captain Cook? 4. What was the nature of life at Tahiti? 5. When and why did Captain Cook journey southwestward? 6. What experiences had he at New Zealand? 7. How fully did he explore Australia? 8. What two voyages did he undertake at a later time? 9. What critical events occupied the attention of England at this time? 10. Why had the discovery of Australia peculiar significance? 11. How did the loss of America affect England's view of colonies? 12. What contrast is

there between the settlement of Australia and that of the American continent? 13. How had England disposed of her criminals up to this time? 14. What remedy was now proposed by Lord Sydney? 15. Who was put in charge of the expedition? 16. What were his views regarding the proposed colony? 17. Where was the first settlement and what incidents are connected with it? 18. What great distinction has Australia?

LIVINGSTONE

1. What different motives led to the colonization of New England, Virginia, India, and Australia? 2. Why was Southern Africa uninviting to Europeans? 3. Where had Portuguese navigators touched on the African coast? 4. What was the early character of Cape Town? 5. How did England come to possess it? 5. What was the racial grouping of the colony? 7. What are three important phases of British expansion in South Africa? 8. What was the general influence of the men sent to Africa by the London Missionary Society? 9. Why was the work of these missionaries well worth the doing? 10. Describe the early life of Livingstone. 11. What great qualities did he develop? 12. What disappointment met him at the Cape? 13. What training did he at once undergo? 14. How does he describe his practice at Kuruman? 15. What was the nature of his early married life? 16. What two periods threatened his mission at Kolobeng? 17. What circumstances led to the discovery of Lake Ngami? 18. Upon what momentous undertaking did he now resolve? 19. What convictions were revealed in his letter to the London Missionary Society? 20. What was the nature of the Boer raid upon his camp? 21. Describe his long journey to the Portuguese setlements. 22. How did he look upon the slave trade? 23. What was his conviction regarding his work for Africa? 24. What were some of the striking events of his later life?

SEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Who was Chatham? 2. What was the war of the Austrian Succession? 3. What were some of the important terms of the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle? 4. Give some facts concerning Warren Hastings. 5. How large is Australia? What is its population? 6. Who was Wilkes? "Junius"? 7. What are the dates of the administration of Lord North? 8. Who were Francis Xavier, Brebeuf, and Boniface? 9. Who was Wilberforce? 10. How do Victoria Falls compare with Niagara Falls?

End of November Required Reading, pages 153-210.

The Stage for Which Shakespeare Wrote

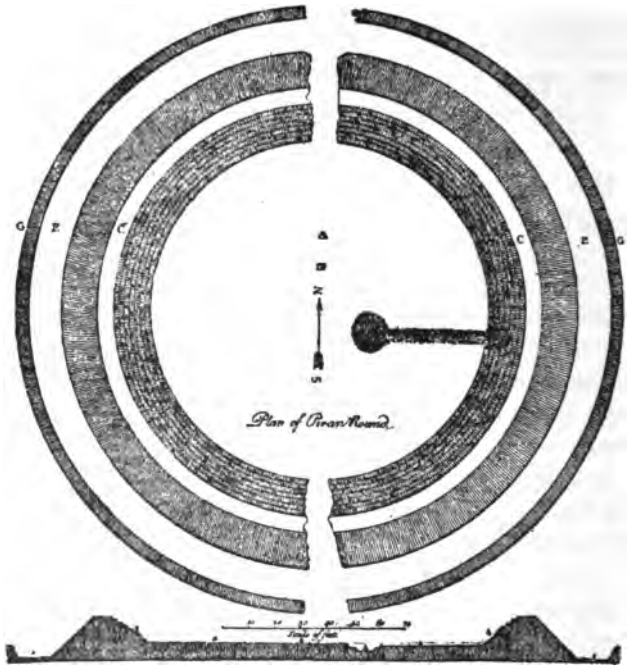
II. The Ancestry of the English Theater

By Carl H. Grabo

THE "theaters," so called, were not constructed until early in the reign of Elizabeth, but if we are to seek the historical antecedents of their general form and arrangement, we must consider both the very ancient Cornish "rounds" and the courtyards of the Tudor inns.

The Cornish "rounds" are of disputed orgin. Some scholars ascribe them to Celtic or Iberic influences and others believe them to be relics of the ancient intercourse between Greece and Cornwall. The Greeks of Homer's time used tin, as will be remembered from the description of the shield of Achilles, and this tin must have been procured from Cornwall, which in very ancient times possessed the only tin mines in Europe. Greek traders, it is certain, sailed as far as Southern England and in all probability influenced the people of that region. The Cornish love of wrestling, may, it is thought, have been one result of this early intercourse. More important for purposes of dramatic history is the possible derivation of the "round"—a crude amphitheater—from the amphitheater of the Greeks. Such amphitheaters, first used for athletic exhibitions, may readily have been utilized in turn for Druidic ceremonies and later as a stage for the Cornish mystery plays. Richard Carew in his "Survey of Cornwall," dated 1602, gives an interesting account of a mystery play performed in such a "round:"

The Guary miracle, an English miracle play, is a kinde of Enterlude, compiled in Cornish out of some Scripture history with that grossness which accompanied the *Romanes vetus Comedia*. For representing it they raise an earthen amphitheater in some open field, having the diameter of his enclosed playne some forty or fifty feet. The country people flock from all sides, many miles off, to hear and see it; for they have therein devils and devices, to delight as well the eye as the eare; the players conne not their parts without



Plan of Amphitheater or Round in the Parish of Piran-sand, Cornwall

booke, but are prompted by one called the ordinary, who followeth at their back with the book in his hand, and telleth them softly what they pronounce aloud. . . .

It is an interesting theory thus to connect the English theater with that of ancient Greece by means of the Cornish amphitheater or "round." But it is at least certain that the amphitheater was early used in England, and in Elizabeth's time we find it closely associated with the stage in rather a peculiar way. The English populace of the Tudor period, though fond of the drama, was no less entertained by the gentle sport of bear baiting, concerning which in its relation to the Puritans Macaulay made his famous epigram. Several of the early Elizabethan theaters were used part of the time for this sport and part of the time for the presentation of plays. Hence the amphitheater, which was the customary and most convenient form for a bear garden, was made to

serve dramatic purposes whenever occasion demanded. The consequences of this adaptation upon the construction and presentation of plays will be considered later.

The second important influence upon the structure of the Elizabethan playhouse is that of the arrangement of the English inn in Tudor times. To make clear the connection between inns and theaters necessitates a little historical digression.

Late in the fifteenth century the custom arose among the great nobles of keeping companies of players for their private amusement. Richard III when Duke of Gloucester possessed such a company and at times sanctioned their absence for "barnstorming" trips. Armed with credentials from their patron, the players went from town to town, securing permission to give their performances. These were held in the most convenient spot, namely the inn-yard, which was well adapted to such uses. A platform erected against one side of the inn would possess all the necessary elements for simple stage craft. Some rough arrangement could be made for exits at the back, and the audience crowding around the three open sides of the platform would come in close and inspiring contact with the actors. More aristocratic spectators might view the performance from the covered galleries running around the inner walls of the enclosure or from

The Gentle Sport of Bear Baiting. From an old Cut

windows overlooking the courtyard. It was in such a rough-and-ready theater that the actors of the sixteenth century held their public performances and it is but natural that the early theater did not depart greatly from the general arrangements to which the actors and audiences had long been accustomed.

To the amphitheater and the inn-yard we must, therefore, look for important influences upon the structure of the Elizabethan theaters. But before considering that interesting and much debated subject we should note the growth of popular interest in the drama and the development of a unique feature of the Elizabethan stage, the companies of child actors.

The actors retained by the great nobles of Tudor England afford an indication of the interest of the aristocracy in forms of dramatic entertainment. Other indications are not wanting. Hall's "Chronicle" mentions the introduction of the "masque" early in the reign of Henry VIII. This entertainment, borrowed from Italy, was first a formal dance of maskers but gradually developed into a combination of fancy dress ball and opera. Hardly any other terminology can suggest its peculiar nature for it was a combination of music, dress, brilliant scenery, tableaux, and poetry. Although this *melange* cannot be termed dramatic at any period of its development, yet its tendency was in that direction, and the latest masques bear about the same relation to legitimate drama that current light opera bears to the serious stage.

The masque was essentially an aristocratic entertainment and its influence upon the drama contemporaneous with it was neither direct nor extensive. But it cannot have been without some influence, for many of the chief writers of masques were also successful play-wrights, as, notably Ben Jonson, Shirley, and other contemporaries of Shakespeare. The knowledge derived from the elaborate devices used by Inigo Jones, the famous stage manager and mechanician, must have suggested stage effects possible to the scantier equipment of the public playhouses. These latter could not afford the expensive properties lavished on the court masques, but they probably did their best with small means. What-

The New Inn, Gloucester, Showing old Court-yard such as Those Used for Early Theatrical Performances

ever restriction managers imposed upon lavish staging was of necessity, not of choice, for the Elizabethan Englishman gloried in the spectacular and all the pomp and circumstance befitting his imperial imagination.

It should be stated in passing that Milton's "Comus," the only masque with which the casual reader has usually any acquaintance, is not properly speaking, a masque, though owing its suggestion to the masque form. It was designed as an entertainment for a noble patron and was a private rather than a public performance, in which respect, indeed, it was in line with the traditional court entertainments. Milton, however, was too essentially serious and of too logical and constructive a mind to create a purposeless series of dances, songs, and spectacles,—"inexplicable dumb shows." In his hands a masque became a poem, logical and full of meaning, as well as poetic and entertaining. It is well to remember when considering the masque that "Comus" is in a class by itself. Some of Ben Jonson's poetic creations approach it in their beauty of verse but never in construction. The court demanded in its masque a spectacular performance, with much dancing, brilliant costumes, and elaborate mechanical stage effects, but with little else. The vast sums spent upon this class of entertainment,—amounts equivalent at times to hundreds of thousands of dollars as the purchasing power of money is now calculated—indicate sufficiently well the nature of the masque and its remoteness from the dramatic performances of the public playhouses, which were necessarily staged far less expensively.

Aside from the masque there was, however, a widespread liking among the upper classes for the more serious drama. The gentlemen of the Inns of Court, influenced by the newly awakened interest in the classics, enacted plays, and under the same influence arose the performances by the boys of the public schools. About the middle of the sixteenth century, several plays based on classical models were composed and staged. "Ralph Roister Doister," a comedy, by Nicholas Udall, head-master of Eton and later of Westminster Latin School, and "Gorboduc," a tragedy, by Thomas Norton and

Thomas Sackville were the first fruits of this influence, and though not so purely English in form as later plays, constituted the beginning of the greatest period of the English drama.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, also, the mystery play had in part given way to the "morality" play, an allegorical production with personified virtues and vices. The interlude as well had been developed, a comic or farcical skit introduced between the serious acts of the morality play, thus affording that sharp contrast of the serious and the comic which we have already noted in the mystery play.

Sharp contrasts of the comic and the tragic are the peculiar characteristic of the romantic Elizabethan drama as Victor Hugo pointed out in his essay upon the drama published as a preface to "Cromwell." At times such contrasts are crude and to a modern taste unpleasant, as for example the comic scenes in Marlowe's great play "Dr. Faustus," and the scenes for the clown in "Othello." But it was Shakespeare's distinction to so fuse the comic and the tragic in the most of his plays that each element strengthens the other. The Porter in "Macbeth" is a stock instance of this. The Nurse in "Romeo and Juliet" is yet another to the point, and the Fool in "Lear" perhaps the crowning instance. Yet if we are to seek the dramatic ancestry of this device we must return as we have done to the crude comedy afforded by the mystery plays and the interludes. It is as though we sought the origin of comic contrast in a performance of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in which little Eva after her apotheosis returns to earth for a song and dance between the acts.

The beginnings of the later drama are also to be noted in the rough chronicle plays recording interesting historical incidents in a narrative rather than dramatic fashion. "Gorboduc," noted above, is an example of this type of play. The chronicle play we shall see in our study of Shakespeare was the true ancestor of "Henry VI," "Richard III," and "Macbeth."

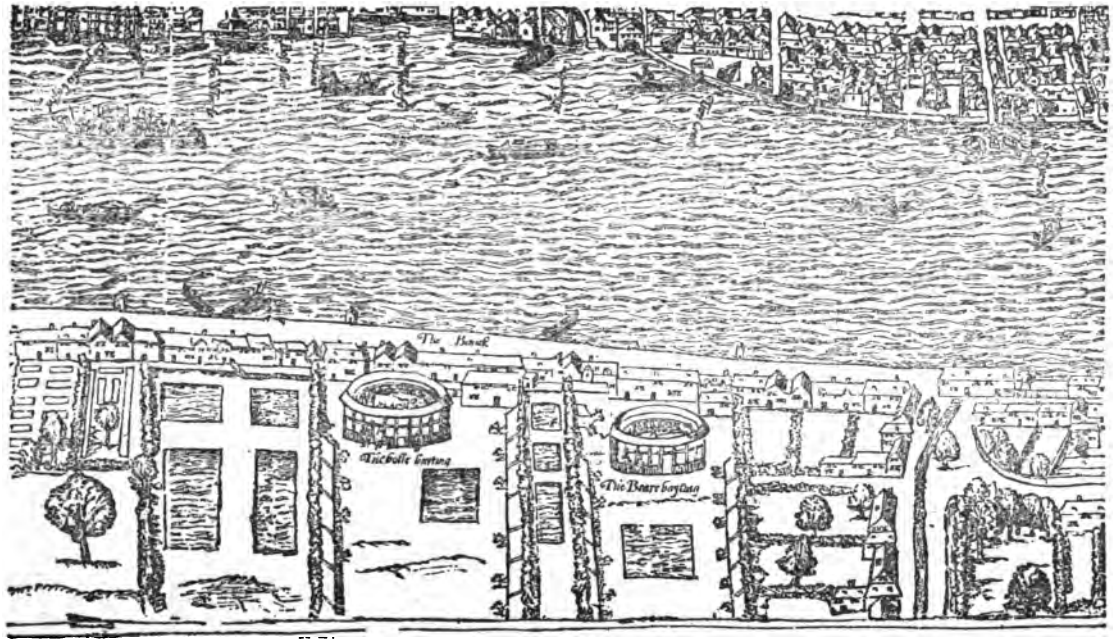
Thus by the time of Elizabeth the greater part of the English people were interested in some form of the drama:

the mystery play, the miracle play and interlude, the play based on classical models, the chronicle play, and the masque. The Puritans may be exempted from this generalization for they constituted the one element of the population antagonistic to everything dramatic.

One quotation from Doran's "Annals of the English Stage" will serve to explain sufficiently for our purposes the origin of the companies of boy players who enter prominently into dramatic history at a later period: "The children of the Chapel Royal [choir boys] were frequently summoned to play in presence of the King and Court. Boatsful of them went down the river to Greenwich, or up to Hampton Court, to enliven the dulness or stimulate the religious enthusiasm of their royal auditors there. At the former place, and when there was not yet any suspicion of the orthodoxy of Henry VIII, the boys of St. Paul's acted a Latin play before the sovereign and the representatives of other sovereigns. The object of the play was to exalt the Pope, and consequently Luther and his wife were the foolish villains of the piece, exposed to the contempt and derision of the delighted and right-thinking hearers."*

In the next two articles we shall discuss the first public play-houses of Elizabethan London with some account of their size, shape and arrangement, and the method of conducting performances. Such a discussion will involve some statement of the conflicting opinions with regard to the front and back stage, exits, balcony, etc., concerning which scholars are still at odds. It will be impossible to arrive at definite conclusions upon many important points, but enough may be learned to give some adequate conception of the manner in which an Elizabethan play was presented.

*Doran. "Annals of the English Stage."



Part of an old Map of London Drawn in 1560, Showing the Bankside on the South Side of the Thames. Note the Amphitheaters for Bull and Bear Baiting.

The Vesper Hour*

By Chancellor John H. Vincent

THIS month our space is given to a remarkable article entitled "The Art of Prayer" referred to in the baccalaureate sermon to the C. L. S. C. graduates of the Class at Chautauqua, New York, as follows:

"It is an argument for prayer, I think I may say in its particular emphasis, the most effective I have ever read, embodying an experience I have more than once known but never before found so clearly and positively stated."

"The Art of Prayer" appeared in *The Outlook,* signed "By Unbekannt." It is here reprinted by special permission of *The Outlook:*

THE ART OF PRAYER

It was not until I was well on in middle life that—although I had listened to thousands of prayers and uttered thousands more—I so much as knew really what it is to even try to pray. I had (insensibly) relied on comparatively prosperous circumstances and an elastic temperament which rebounded from ill fortune into comfort and hope for better fortune. So that when I began to have a taste of the drastic experiences that confront and crush, more or less, almost every man and woman in middle life, and I began to "seek after God if haply I might find him," I seemed to be talking into thin air. I was not aware of a listening God at all. The whole experience was nebulous and unreal.

At this time I had the good fortune to talk with a friend. He spoke as follows: "Prayer is not only a function of the soul, but, in a sense, an art to be cultivated. Concentration of a very marked kind is necessary; persistently, faithfully, the imagination must be trained; one must study the prayers of the ages—catch, as it were, a glad contagion of the praying spirit. God indeed stands ready to be called upon; but to

* The Vesper Hour, contributed to THE CHAUTAUQUAN each month by Chancellor Vincent, continues the ministries of Chautauqua's Vesper Service throughout the year.

discern him, hear him—as it were, see and feel him—one needs (most of us need, at least) a preparation of soul discipline."

In my own life I will say that the first stage of progress made was that of coming to feel that a higher Power was present; knew that I spoke; heard my words with sympathetic attention. It was a great deal, a very great deal, to attain as much as this. It gave me an outlet, to say the least. Over and over again I experienced a sense of relief, exactly as if I had orally spoken to a companion who gave me attentive and kindly sympathy. And, speaking of this word "orally," I believe it a good habit to consciously utter—and, I may even say, audibly utter—one's prayer. It seems to give outward definiteness and substance to prayer.

But in the course of time I had more marked experience than this.

It is impossible, in writing for the benefit of others as to such very personal experiences, to be definite without trespassing on the inborn reserve which we all have as to the deeper things of our lives.

But as much as this I will say: Times without number, in moments of supreme doubt, disappointment discouragement, unhappiness, a certain prayer-formula, which by degrees has built itself up in my mind, has been followed, in its utterance, by quick and astonishing relief. Sometimes doubt has been transformed into confident assurance, mental weakness utterly routed into self-confidence, fear into courage, dismay into confidence and brightest hope.

These transitions have sometimes come by degrees—in the course, let us say, of an hour or two; at other times they have been instantaneous, flashing up in brain and heart as if a powerful electric stroke had cleared the air, even as a lightning flash will dispel the darkness of densest midnight, or clear away gradually the murkiness of sultry August debilitation.

These experiences have been marked in the very ratio of the emergency which occasioned the utterance of the prayer. Over and over again they have come with such

unexpected quickness and power that in justice to myself I could but rush to transcribe them that in future times of distress I should have them to recur to. So marked have they been at times that I could simply say to myself in a tumult of gladness, "The age of miracles has by no means passed." They have been followed, often, by a new outward strength. I could go among friends with cheerfulness, and buoyancy of spirit, even in those critical hours in which outwardly there was the greatest cause for a very different frame of mind. They have helped me through periods of bodily sickness, coming like great glad breaths of fresh air after the smothering influence of an atmosphere charged with what was noxious.

These momentous changes have come on the occasion of, and in close, sometimes instantaneous, sequence to, a prayer. In short, the "formula" alluded to above has become a sort of talisman; and at this present writing, after a period rolling itself out into many months, the talisman has seldom failed, wholly at least, to do its magic work.

In somewhat less marked way, and yet very noticeably, my prayer has sometimes been followed by insight as to some practical matter whose solution sorely needed insight. It has taken the form, often, of a true perspective of the matters of my life—mountains of difficulty turning into mole-hills, and mole-hills of hope becoming mountains in the scope of their reassurance.

At times there have been results that seem to transcend the experiences enumerated here, since they concerned other people than myself, with whom I had no connection save as busy thoughts could form a tie. Doubtless the disciples of the so-called "art of mental healing" will claim instances like this as an illustration of their own interesting creed; but even though there be a "telepathy" in some of its manifestations possible apart from one's religious faith, in my own life it has been directly connected with, and confirmatory of, my faith as to prayer.

I record the above as the most significant events of my life. Those who have read Professor William James's vastly

interesting "Varieties of Religious Experience" will recall how he, speaking as the cool philosophical observer, and noting phenomena as the scientist sees them, records his belief that men and women have gone far to demonstrate the existence of an outer, greater, accessible, divine power which human beings may approach and reach.

My own personal experience, apart from anything of revelation in the Bible or recorded in the lives of other men, confirms this conclusion. Nothing in my whole life do I so much deplore as my inability to be continuously "obedient to the heavenly vision," continuously confident that the seeming significance of these things is a real significance; and correspondingly great is the gratitude that, at times at least, I can implicitly accept them, as illustrating this great truth that prayer really is "life's greatest opportunity and mightiest force."

In his search for God, which every soul is impelled to make when directing to him his prayer, one is called back to two historical epochs—God as revealed in the Psalms, and as revealed in the life and words of Christ.

In the Psalms we find recorded great inspirational moments. God stands forth in them as he is revealed to us in the most brilliant and magnificent phases of the natural world, in mountains, sunsets, stars, seas, winter's might and summer's charm. A conscious attempt to attain companionship with so unspeakably great a being can but enlarge more or less the scope of one's imagination and, in a sense, the scope of his life.

In the ministry and life of Christ we learn of God in his affluence of good will toward us. He runs to meet us, as it were. Prayer becomes easy when we have a sense that God is searching for us more eagerly than we are searching for him. We may speak to him, not strenuously, but restfully. It is a matter of opening one's heart to receive. Ever and forever we may recall the great words of Christ, "Ask, and ye shall receive; seek and ye shall find."

Perhaps I cannot more appropriately close than by quoting from Martineau, who rightly understood the modern

attitude in this matter, and who greatly and nobly answers it, as follows:

"God's rule of action in nature," he says, "we have every reason to regard as unalterable; established as an inflexible and faithful basis of expectation; and, for that reason, not open to perpetual variation on the suggestion of occasional moral contingencies. God, however, is infinite, and the laws of nature do not exhaust his agency. There is a boundless residue of disengaged faculty beyond. *Behind and amid all these punctualities of law abides, in infinite remainder, the living and unpledged spirit.* Here he has made no rule but the everlasting rule of holiness, and written no pledge but the pledge of inextinguishable love; hence, without violated rule, he can individualize his regards; enter with gentle help; and while keeping faith with the universe, knock at the gate of every lonely heart."

Mrs. Siddons as the Tragic Muse. Painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds in Grosvenor House, London.

Representative English Paintings

Mrs. Siddons as the Tragic Muse

By W. Bertrand Stevens

[Sir Joshua Reynolds was born in Plympton, Devonshire, in 1723, the son of the Reverend Samuel Reynolds, Rector of Plympton Grammar School. He studied with Hudson, a London portrait painter, and later traveled in Italy where he was greatly influenced by the Italian masters. His success as a painter of portraits was phenomenal. He died in 1792 and is buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, London.]

CERTAIN great names in the history of art have spelled, first and always, the word success. The career of Raphael from the time of his entrance into Rome until his death was one grand triumphal march. Others, like Rembrandt, have ended their days in apparent failure, only to be appreciated by later generations. It is in the first class that we may place Sir Joshua Reynolds, a man who, for a period of thirty years, reigned supreme in English art circles.

The English school of painting is of comparatively recent growth; until the beginning of the eighteenth century all English art came from the brushes of those foreigners who had been installed as court painters to the English sovereigns. The first great name in the country's national art is that of Hogarth. Although a pioneer, Hogarth had no followers and his work had little or no influence on the later art.

The real honor of inspiring the English school belongs without question to Reynolds. Aiming always for color and effect, he has been called by Ruskin one of the "seven great colorists of the world." He was an indefatigable worker and it has been estimated that his authenticated paintings number between two and three thousand. It is as a portrait painter that we know him best. "Considered as a painter of individuality in the human form and mind," says Ruskin, "I think him even as it is, the prince of portrait painters." To have a portrait painted by Reynolds gave one the entrée into the best of society and among his sitters we

find such names as Garrick, Burke, Johnson, Goldsmith, and Boswell.

Perhaps his greatest work is the "Mrs, Siddons as the Tragic Muse," in Grosvenor House, London. It is believed with good reason that the picture was suggested by certain of Michelangelo's Sybils and Prophets but it is so cleverly executed that we must all feel disposed to overlook the plagiarism. It is the one picture that indicates the admiration which Reynolds held for the works of Michelangelo. A number of stories as to the origin of the pose have been handed down to us. According to one Mrs. Siddons was asked by Sir Joshua to choose her own attitude, which she did to the great delight of the artist. Another critic believes that the pose was merely accidental. Probably there is a certain amount of truth in both suggestions. Mrs. Siddons is said to have complained that the painter was "tricking her out in all the colors of the rainbow," and that Sir Joshua graciously complied with her request that he use less striking tones—colors that would be more appropriate for the subject. It is probable, however, that the brilliant hues to which she objected were simply the undercoating which the artist intended to tone down in the finished picture. But the distinguished actress was the greater creative genius and whatever spiritual qualities the picture possesses should probably be attributed to her.

At the completion of the picture, it was immediately recognized as the greatest work the painter had produced and it is certain that he never surpassed it. Although simple in arrangement it abounds in beautiful lines and curves. Mrs. Siddons, as the Queen of Tragedy, sits enthroned on clouds in a brooding unconsciousness that is peculiarly fitting to the subject; behind her are two figures, variously known as "Pity and Terror," "Crime and Remorse" and "Pity and Remorse," one with a dagger, the other with a bowl, symbols of open and secret violence.

A careful examination of the painting proves to us that if there had been no Sistine ceiling there would have been a different "Tragic Muse." Although little is taken from

any one figure there are suggestions of both the Joel and the Isaiah. By using a Michelangelo color scheme the picture might almost be substituted for a Sistine "Sybil" without marring the effect of the ceiling. Sir Joshua was a firm advocate of the "grand style," but it is only in this picture that he has put his theories into execution. The whole conception barring perhaps the figures with bowl and dagger bears out his ideas of the "abstract method of vision" of which he wrote.

The "Tragic Muse" is one of the two pictures in which Sir Joshua placed his name on the border of his sitter's mantle. Mrs. Siddons on noticing this commented on it and received Reynold's famous reply that he "could not afford to lose the opportunity of going down to posterity on the hem of her garment." There are several replicas of the picture, the one in the Dulwich Gallery being undoubtedly genuine. Like Raphael, Sir Joshua had a remarkable power of assimilation and although he borrowed ideas from nearly all of the earlier masters, he made those ideas peculiarly and happily his own. And, after all, does he not appeal to us all as a powerful original genius?

Love Is Blind

By Aloysius Coll

Said the rover bee
To the apple bloom:
"I shall come again,
Ere the summer's doom
Has left a blight
In the orchard place,
To drink your heart,
And to kiss your face!"

Said the apple bloom
To the rover bee:
"When you come again
You shall not see me;
On an early breeze
Shall I depart,
With my blushing face,
And my honeyed heart!"

When the errant bee
Came back again,
A pippin blushed
Where the bloom had lain.
Quoth the bee: "This house
Of gold must hide her,
For I taste of her heart—"
And he sipped the cider!

Livingstone's Famous Adventure With a Lion

FROM "MISSIONARY TRAVELS AND RESEARCHES IN SOUTH AFRICA," BY DAVID LIVINGSTONE

IT is well known that if any one of a troop of lions is killed, the others take the hint and leave that part of the country. So, the next time the herds were attacked, I went with the people, in order to encourage them to rid themselves of the annoyance by destroying one of the marauders. We found the lions on a small hill about a quarter of a mile in length and covered with trees. A circle of men was formed round it, and they gradually closed up, ascending pretty near to each other. Being down below on the plain with a native schoolmaster, named Mebálwe, a most excellent man, I saw one of the lions sitting on a piece of rock within the now closed circle of men. Mebalwe fired at him before I could, and the ball struck the rock on which the animal was sitting. He bit at the spot struck, as a dog does at a stick or stone thrown at him; then leaped away, broke through the opening circle and escaped unhurt. The men were afraid to attack him, perhaps on account of their belief in witchcraft. When the circle was re-formed, we saw two other lions in it; but we were afraid to fire lest we should strike the men, and they allowed the beasts to burst through also. If the Bakatla had acted according to the custom of their country, they would have speared the lions in their attempt to get out. Seeing we could not get them to kill one of the lions, we bent our footsteps toward the village; in going round the end of the hill, however, I saw one of the beasts sitting on a piece of rock as before, but this time he had a little bush in

front. Being about thirty yards off, I took a good aim at his body through the bush, and fired both barrels into it. The men then called out, "He is shot, he is shot!" Others cried, "He has been shot by another man too; let us go to him!" I did not see anyone else shoot at him, but I saw the lion's tail erected in anger behind the bush, and, turning to the people, said, "Stop a little, till I load again." When in the act of ramming down the bullets, I heard a shout. Starting, and looking half round, I saw the lion just in the act of springing upon me. I was upon a little height; he caught my shoulder as he sprang, and we both came to the ground below together. Growling horribly close to my ear, he shook me as a terrier dog does a rat. The shock produced a stupor similar to that which seems to be felt by a mouse after the first shake of the cat. It caused a sort of dreaminess, in which there was no sense of pain nor feeling of terror, though quite conscious of all that was happening. It was like what patients partially under the influence of chloroform describe, who see all the operation, but feel not the knife. This singular condition was not the result of any mental process. The shake annihilated fear, and allowed no sense of horror in looking round at the beast. This peculiar state is probably produced in all animals killed by the carnivora; and if so, is a merciful provision by our benevolent Creator for lessening the pain of death. Turning round to relieve myself of the weight, as he had one paw on the back of my head, I saw his eyes directed to Mebalwe, who was trying to shoot him at a distance of ten or fifteen yards. His gun, a flint one, missed fire in both barrels; the lion immediately left me, and, attacking Mebalwe, bit his thigh. Another man, whose life I had saved before, after he had been tossed by a buffalo, attempted to spear the lion while he was biting Mebalwe. He left Mebalwe and caught this man by the shoulder, but at that moment the bullets he had received took effect, and he fell down dead. The whole was the work of a few moments, and must have been his paroxysms of dying rage. In order to take out the charm from him, the Bakatla on the following day made a huge bonfire over the carcass, which was declared

to be that of the largest lion they had ever seen. Besides crushing the bone into splinters, he left eleven teeth wounds on the upper part of my arm.

A wound from this animal's tooth resembles a gunshot wound; it is generally followed by a great deal of sloughing and discharge, and pains are felt in the part periodically ever afterward. I had on a tartan jacket on the occasion, and I believe that it wiped off all the virus from the teeth that pierced the flesh, for my two companions in this affray have both suffered from the peculiar pains, while I have escaped with only the inconvenience of a false joint in my limb. The man whose shoulder was wounded showed me his wound actually burst forth afresh on the same month of the following year. This curious point deserves the attention of inquirers.

The Impeachment of Warren Hastings

Second only to the name of Clive in the annals of English rule in India, is the name of Warren Hastings. Like Clive, Hastings began his career in the employ of the East India Company. He became governor of Bengal in 1772 and governor-general of India in 1774. In his conduct towards the native princes he laid himself open to charges, which on his return to England in 1785 led to much public criticism. His opponents, finally, in 1787, had him impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors. The trial dragged for eight years, and in 1795 he was finally acquitted.

Macaulay's famous essay upon Hastings is noteworthy not alone for its sane estimate of Hastings' virtues and defects and the final judgment which it passes upon his administration, but more especially for its admirable description of the impeachment proceedings. The passage which describes the opening scene of the trial is particularly effective.

MACAULAY'S ACCOUNT OF THE TRIAL

The place was worthy of such a trial. It was the great hall of William Rufus, the hall which had resounded with acclamations at the inauguration of thirty kings, the hall which had

witnessed the just sentence of Bacon and the just absolution of Somers, the hall where the eloquence of Strafford had for a moment awed and melted a victorious party inflamed with just resentment, the hall where Charles had confronted the High Court of Justice with the placid courage which has half redeemed his fame. Neither military nor civil pomp was wanting. The avenues were lined with grenadiers. The streets were kept clean by cavalry. The peers, robed in gold and ermine, were marshalled by the heralds under Garter King-at-arms. The judges in their vestments of state attended to give advice on points of law. Near a hundred and seventy lords—three fourths of the Upper House as the Upper House then was—walked in solemn order from their usual place of assembling to the tribunal. The junior baron present led the way—George Eliott, Lord Heathfield, recently ennobled for his memorable defence of Gibraltar against the fleets and armies of France and Spain. The long procession was closed by the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of the Realm, by the great dignitaries, and by the brothers and sons of the King. Last of all came the Prince of Wales, conspicuous by his fine person and noble bearing. The gray old walls were hung with scarlet. The long galleries were crowded by an audience such as has rarely excited the fears or the emulation of an orator. There were gathered together from all parts of a great, free, enlightened, and prosperous empire, grace and female loveliness, wit and learning, the representatives of every science and of every art. There were seated round the Queen the fair-haired young daughters of the House of Brunswick. There the ambassadors of great kings and commonwealths gazed with admiration on a spectacle which no other country in the world could present. There Siddons, in the prime of her majestic beauty, looked with emotion on a scene surpassing all the imitations of the stage. There the historian of the Roman Empire thought of the days when Cicero pleaded the cause of Sicily against Verres, and when, before a senate which still retained some show of freedom, Tacitus thundered against the oppressor of Africa. There were seen, side by side, the greatest painter

and the greatest scholar of the age. The spectacle had allured Reynolds from that easel which has preserved to us the thoughtful foreheads of so many writers and statesmen and the sweet smiles of so many noble matrons. It had induced Parr to suspend his labors in that dark and profound mine from which he had extracted a vast treasure of erudition—a treasure too often buried in the earth, too often paraded with injudicious and inelegant ostentation, but still precious, massive, and splendid. There appeared the voluptuous charms of her to whom the heir of the throne had in secret plighted his faith. There, too, was she, the beautiful mother of a beautiful race, the St. Cecilia whose delicate features, lighted up by love and music, art has rescued from the common decay. There were the members of that brilliant society which quoted, criticised, and exchanged repartees under the rich peacock-hangings of Mrs. Montagu. And there the ladies whose lips, more persuasive than those of Fox himself, had carried the Westminster election against palace and treasury shone round Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire.

The sergeants made proclamation. Hastings advanced to the bar, and bent his knee. The culprit was indeed not unworthy of that great presence. He had ruled an extensive and populous country, had made laws and treaties, had sent forth armies, had set up and pulled down princes. And in his high place he had so borne himself that all had feared him, that most had loved him, and that hatred itself could deny him no title to glory except virtue. He looked like a great man, and not like a bad man. A person small and emaciated, yet deriving dignity from a carriage which, while it indicated deference to the court, indicated also habitual self-possession and self-respect; a high and intellectual forehead; a brow pensive, but not gloomy; a mouth of inflexible decision; a face pale and worn, but serene, on which was written, as legibly as under the picture in the council-chamber at Calcutta, *Mens æqua in arduis;* such was the aspect with which the great proconsul presented himself to his judges.

David Livingstone's famous Encounter with the Lion

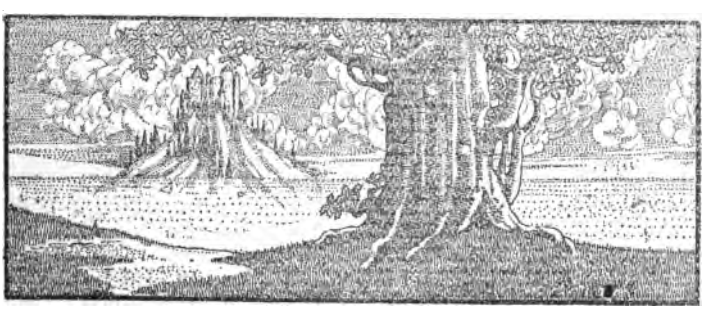
His counsel accompanied him, men all of whom were afterward raised by their talents and learning to the highest posts in their profession—the bold and strong-minded Law, afterwards Chief-justice of the King's Bench; the more humane and eloquent Dallas, afterwards Chief-justice of the Common Pleas; and Plomer, who, near twenty years later, successfully conducted in the same high court the defence of Lord Melville, and subsequently became Vice-Chancellor and Master of the Rolls.

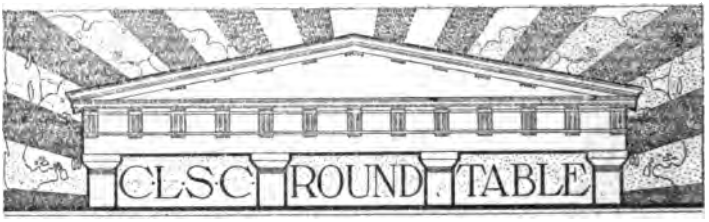
But neither the culprit nor his advocates attracted so much notice as the accusers. In the midst of the blaze of red drapery, a space had been fitted up with green benches and tables for the Commons. The managers, with Burke at their head, appeared in full dress. The collectors of gossip did not fail to remark that even Fox, generally so regardless of his appearance, had paid to the illustrious tribunal the compliment of wearing a bag and sword. Pitt had refused to be one of the conductors of the impeachment; and his commanding, copious, and sonorous eloquence was wanting to that great muster of various talents. Age and blindness had unfitted Lord North for the duties of a public prosecutor; and his friends were left without the help of his excellent sense, his tact, and his urbanity. But, in spite of the absence of these two distinguished members of the Lower House, the box in which the managers stood contained an array of speakers such as perhaps had not appeared together since the great age of Athenian eloquence. There were Fox and Sheridan, the English Demosthenes and the English Hyperides. There was Burke, ignorant, indeed, or negligent, of the art of adapting his reasonings and his style to the capacity and taste of his hearers, but in amplitude of comprehension and richness of imagination superior to every orator, ancient or modern. There, with eyes reverentially fixed on Burke, appeared the finest gentleman of the age, his form developed by every manly exercise, his face beaming with intelligence and spirit, the ingenious, the chivalrous, the high-souled Windham. Nor, though surrounded by such men, did the youngest manager pass unnoticed. At an age

when most of those who distinguish themselves in life are still contending for prizes and fellowships at college, he had won for himself a conspicuous place in Parliament. No advantage of fortune or connection was wanting that could set off to the height his splendid talents and his unblemished honor. At twenty-three he had been thought worthy to be ranked with the veteran statesmen who appeared as the delegates of the British Commons at the bar of the British nobility. All who stood at that bar, save him alone, are gone—culprit, advocates, accusers. To the generation which is now in the vigor of life, he is the sole representative of a great age which has passed away. But those who, within the last ten years, have listened with delight, till the morning sun shone on the tapestries of the House of Lords, to the lofty and animated eloquence of Charles Earl Grey, are able to form some estimate of the powers of a race of men among whom he was not the foremost.

The charges and the answers of Hastings were first read. The cermony occupied two whole days, and was rendered less tedious than it would otherwise have been by the silver voice and just emphasis of Cowper, the clerk of the court, a near relation of the amiable poet. On the third day Burke rose. Four sittings were occupied by his opening speech, which was intended to be a general introduction to all the charges. With an exuberance of thought and a splendor of diction which more than satisfied the highly raised expectation of the audience, he described the character and institutions of the natives of India, recounted the circumstances in which the Asiatic empire of Britain had originated, and set forth the constitution of the Company and of the English presidencies. Having thus attempted to communicate to his hearers an idea of Eastern society as vivid as that which existed in his own mind, he proceeded to arraign the administration of Hastings as systematically conducted in defiance of morality and public law. The energy and pathos of the great orator extorted expressions of unwonted admiration from the stern and hostile Chancellor, and, for a moment, seemed to pierce even the resolute heart of the defendant. The

ladies in the galleries, unaccustomed to such display of eloquence, excited by the solemnity of the occasion, and perhaps not unwilling to display their taste and sensibility, were in a state of uncontrollable emotion. Handkerchiefs were pulled out; smelling-bottles were handed round; hysterical sobs and screams were heard; and Mrs. Sheridan was carried out in a fit. At length the orator concluded. Raising his voice till the old arches of Irish oak resounded, "Therefore," said he, "hath it with all confidence been ordered by the Commons of Great Britain, that I impeach Warren Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanors. I impeach him in the name of the Commons' House of Parliament, whose trust he has betrayed. I impeach him in the name of the English nation, whose ancient honor he has sullied. I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose rights he has trodden under foot, and whose country he has turned into a desert. Lastly, in the name of human nature itself, in the name of both sexes, in the name of every age, in the name of every rank, I impeach the common enemy and oppressor of all."





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THE GRADUATION OF THE CLASS OF 1906

"To love light and seek knowledge must be always right."

The graduation of the "John Ruskin" Class at Chautauqua this summer was an occasion of more than ordinary interest for this was the first class to receive "recognition" in the new Hall of Philosophy. Very early in July, the indefatigable secretary of the Class, Miss Roach, called the members together and arrangements were made to meet three times a week in the Class room in Alumni Hall, attention being devoted to preparations for the Amphitheater decorations for Recognition Day. These frequent gatherings came to be very social occasions. Members from remote sections of the country speedily became acquainted with each other and when the acting president, Mr. Carlton Hillyer, arrived so much spirit had developed that under his genial leadership class business was carried through with enthusiasm.

Bishop W. F. Oldham, of India, the Class president who had guided the organization in its freshman days was fortunately able to be at Chautauqua again this summer for Recognition Week. He and Mr. Hillyer shared the honor of escorting the beautiful "Ruskin" banner of the '06's through the gate on Recognition Day.

On Sunday, August 12, the Baccalaureate sermon was preached by Chancellor Vincent—with closing words to the Class of 1906:

Dear Readers of the Class of 1906: Seek strength and symmetry in personal character—the beauty of holiness symbolized by the fine linen pure and white that is woven of righteous motives into righteous conduct—the firmest of faith in a divine Christ. Cultivate the subdued voice, the generous impulse, the self-sacrificing service, the hospitable spirit, the habit of breathing into your inmost life the atmosphere of heaven by the constant exercise of prayer. Remember the values of self-control, of the cheerful spirit and of the struggle against all evil influence. . . .

I plead for a worthier conception of the life of prayer, of actual, personal, daily fellowship with God. It is possible to commune with God—spirit with spirit—your breath blending with the infinite breath of life—asking and really *receiving*, going burdened into the silence of believing thought, and coming out without any burden—rather with wings and with a light ineffable—the shining all about you and within you of the Sun of Righteousness.

Never be discouraged in your effort after self-conquest and divine possession. Though you fail nine hundred and ninety-nine times, make the thousandth effort. Suddenly the key will turn the bolt and through the opening door will stream light, peace, and power.

At nine o'clock in the evening the Class Vigil in the Hall of Philosophy was conducted by Counselor Jesse L. Hurlbut, who explained the historic character of this quiet service held by the light of the Athenian Watch Fires. Mr. Cecil F. Lavell spoke on the influence of knowledge upon life, and Mr. Clifford Lanier by request read some selections from his own poems.

Recognition Day found the '06's, one hundred and seventy strong, ready to pass through the gate and arches, having met all their obligations—payment of their quota to Alumni Hall, and the banner fund, and in addition provided for an appropriation for furniture for the Class room and made arrangements by cash and subscriptions to secure for the Class one of the "Athenian Watch Fires" of the new Hall of Philosophy. It was a very effective procession which on August 15 climbed the broad stairway leading up into the Hall, each member carrying a white lily, the Class emblem. After the official "Recognition" by the Chancellor, the procession of all C. L. S. C. classes moved to the Amphi-

theater where Mr. Edward Howard Griggs delivered the address of the day on "Popular Education and Democracy."

At two o'clock the members of the Class again gathered in the Hall to receive their diplomas and then after lingering to be photographed, held a farewell rally in Alumni Hall. The Alumni banquet of some four hundred graduates, held in the Hotel dining-room at eight o'clock in the evening, signified the welcome of '06 into the goodly fellowship of the Society of the Hall in the Grove.

THE C. L. S. C. AT CHAUTAUQUA

Many things conspired to render C. L. S. C. activities at Chautauqua this summer more than usually evident. The completion of the new Hall of Philosophy, the popularity of the coming "English year," and the presence of authors and teachers in whom C. L. S. C. members felt a personal interest, all had their influence. The new Class of 1910 showed its spirit very early in the summer and by Rallying Day the members were ready in creditable numbers to take part in the Grove Reception which is one of the most characteristic features of this occasion. At the morning exercises in the Amphitheater on Rallying Day, different aspects of the work of the C. L. S. C. were brought out most felicitously by Chancellor Vincent, Rev. William Channing Brown, Dr. William J. Dawson of London, the author of "Literary Leaders of Modern England," Dr. Jesse L. Hurlbut, for many years one of the C. L. S. C. Counselors, Mr. A. E. Bestor, president of the C. L. S. C. Class of 1910, and Mr. John Graham Brooks of Cambridge, Massachusetts.

At the afternoon reception in the Grove beyond the Aula Christi, booths representing different sections of the country enabled North, South, East and West to fraternize to the fullest extent while the presence of Ischihara San and Lieutenant Takeuchi of Japan and Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Joshi of India at the "Wide Wide World" booth made the various ends of the earth seem very near together.

For the two weeks succeeding Rallying Day C. L. S. C.

Councils were held daily. Here members of circles and individual readers met for informal conferences and many were the ideas given and received. At various sessions short talks were given by Chancellor Vincent on how to study; by Mr. Percy Boynton on some great English novels; by Miss Ada Van Stone Harris on the study of geography; and Mr. Carl H. Grabo on the Elizabethan stage.

Supplementary to the Councils were the larger Round Table meetings held in the Hall of Philosophy where the chief subjects of the coming year's reading were presented, followed by informal discussions.

Many of the older Chautauquans heard with deep regret of the death in August of Mr. William H. Westcott of Holley, New York. Mr. Westcott was an active officer of the Class of '91 and for many years had rendered conspicuous service as one of the building committee of Alumni Hall, a charge which meant heavy responsibility and in his case one that was cheerfully assumed for the good of Chautauqua.

The members of the Class of '98 had the unexpected pleasure of welcoming to their hearthstone Mr. and Mrs. Clifford Lanier and their daughter from Montgomery, Alabama. The Class was named for the brother poets, Sidney and Clifford Lanier and its motto, "The humblest life that lives may be divine," was selected from a quatrain of Mr. Clifford Lanier's. These genial guests entered into the spirit of Chautauqua with fullest sympathy and won many friends both within and without the circle of '98.

The Pioneers of '82 under the constant leadership of their president, Mrs. B. T. Vincent, still kept the record for the largest enrollment for the summer, '06 and 1910 being excepted. Next year will be a notable one for the wearers of the hatchet who propose to celebrate their twenty-fifth anniversary in a fitting manner. All Pioneers will do well to see that the Class secretary has their correct addresses so that each one may learn of Class developments.

DEDICATION OF THE NEW HALL OF PHILOSOPHY

The beautiful new building which stands upon the site of the old Hall of Philosophy at Chautauqua has already won its way into the hearts of Chautauquans. The architect, Mr. E. B. Green of Buffalo, with rare appreciation of the necessity for adapting a classic structure to modern needs has preserved throughout the building the simple, dignified features of the old Greek Doric order, but has supported the long timber roof by pediments and an entablature which have been left open in those portions ordinarily in a Greek temple devoted to sculptured decorations. By this happy device the Hall seems to fit into its sylvan surroundings so perfectly that the nature lover feels not very far removed from those old days when

"The groves were God's first temples."

The soft gray tone of the cement used for the columns and all lower parts of the building blends very effectively with the warm brown of the massive oak roof timbers. The architect, as did also the old Greek, has added a touch of color to his bulding—a brown meander pattern on pale blue at the upper edge of the frieze on the outside, and a leaf pattern on subdued red within. This classic temple is to be enriched and beautified as the years go by. Athenian watch fires will be added, special designs for arches and a surrounding fence for the grove are to be worked out, and in the floor space each C. L. S. C. Class in historic order is to be commemorated by an artistic mosaic panel.

The Hall was dedicated on the morning of Recognition Day, August 15, with an impressive service written for the occasion by Chancellor John H. Vincent. After the reading of responses the Chancellor pronounced these words of dedication:

"The fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom," and therefore we dedicate to Almighty God this building which we have erected for the exaltation and promotion of Wisdom.

We do here and now reverently set it apart for the glory of God and for the good of man,

The new Hall of Philosophy, Chautauqua, New York

We consecrate it to human thought concerning the vast and varied fields of science; to the high ends of all true philosophy; to the study of the noblest expressions of man in art; to the worthiest aims of true pedagogy; to the blessed verities of faith as set forth in all religious literature; to the endeavors of wise and good men who seek to harmonize scientific and religious thought; to the promotion of a true family life, and a vigorous and virtuous national life; to the true unity of the Church and to the most liberal thinking that develops an ardent faith in the divine character and mission of Jesus the Christ.

May the blessing of the One God—Father, Son and Holy Ghost—crown, adorn, and for all time abide upon this our humble offering, that it in turn may be a perpetual blessing to all who here convene for thought, service and worship!

The Hall has already been making history. Few that attended the last two vesper services of this season can forget the closing sermon and vesper address of our Chancellor on Sunday, September 2, or the reading of Sidney Lanier's "The Marshes of Glynn" by his brother Mr. Clifford Lanier at the same hour a week later. Peculiarly appropriate seemed the exquisite lines:

> "And the sun is a-wait at the ponderous gate of the West
> And the slant yellow beam down the wood-aisle doth seem
> Like a lane into heaven that leads from a dream."

TO ALL CHAUTAUQUANS

At the dedicatory exercises of the Hall of Philosophy, Chancellor Vincent read the following letter which the Editor of the Round Table hopes, through the pages of THE CHAUTAUQUAN, may reach the larger circle of friends whose generous gifts have given them a share in building our beautiful Hall but who have not as yet had the privilege of seeing it:

DEAR BISHOP VINCENT:

Will you allow me at this time to express to my C. L. S. C. friends here, and through them to many others, my grateful acknowledgment of the honor which they have done me in allowing one of the columns of this Hall to bear my name? I feel that this is a very striking illustration of the altruistic spirit of the C. L. S. C. which we are all trying to cultivate, and I can only hope to show the measure of my appreciation by improving such opportunities for service as may be given to me.

With sincere and affectionate gratitude to my C. L. S. C. friends,

KATE F. KIMBALL.

Hall of Philosophy, Chautauqua, New York

Interior of Hall of Philosophy, Chautauqua, New York

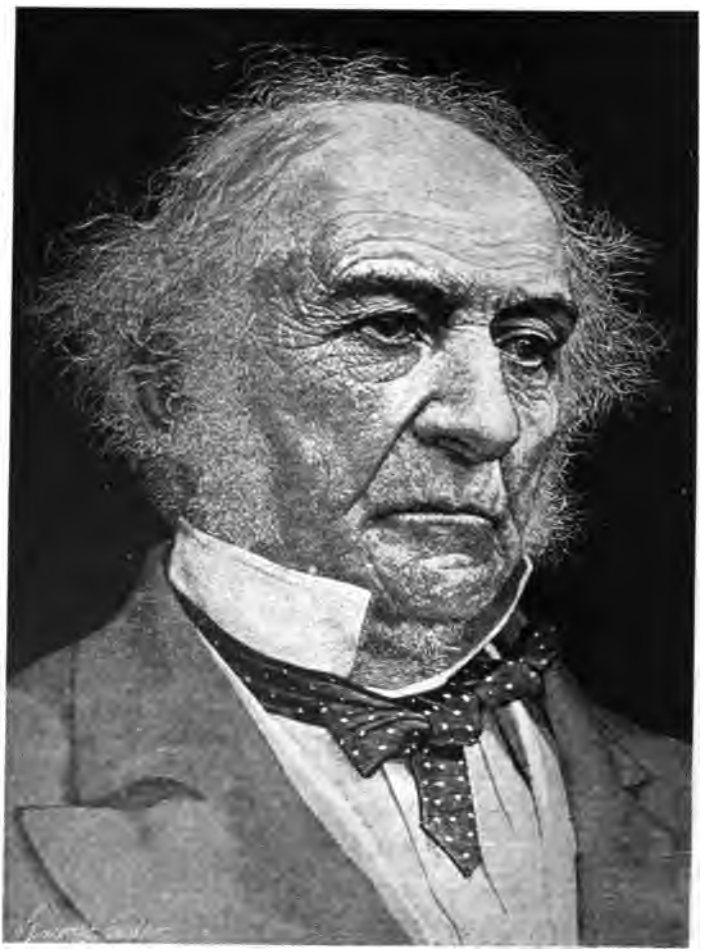
THE ANNIVERSARIES OF '96 AND '86

Every year two at least of the older C. L. S. C. classes hold anniversary celebrations and this year it fell to '96 to observe its decennial. The event was marked by a reunion of members, many of whom had not visited Chautauqua for years and who came long distances to be present at this time. Affectionate mention was made of Mr. John A. Seaton, for many years class president, whose sudden death last year was felt as a personal loss by every member. The Class showed its enthusiasm for the new Hall of Philosophy by completing at this time its subscription of two hundred and fifty dollars for a column and the fund ran sufficiently over the prescribed amount to count considerably toward a floor tablet. Five days later in another cosy class room of Alumni Hall, the '96's predecessors by ten years, the "Progressives" of '86, were to be found celebrating their double decennial. These good Chautauquans who have been fortunate in keeping together a happy family of classmates during full twenty years, reviewed their achievements by bits of experience from many of their members and were duly congratulated by their outside friends. The impulse which seems to possess each class in turn to make a thank offering to Chautauqua for every milestone passed, took form, with '86, of a gift of $100 to the Aula Christi. Twenty five-dollar gold pieces were turned over to the Chancellor and received by him on behalf of the Institution for the beautifying of the Aula Christi which ere long is to take its place among the unique buildings of Chautauqua.

TO THE CLASS OF 1907

"The aim of education is character."

You as members of the "Washington" Class are now entering upon your fourth and last year of the reading course. Every number of the Round Table this year will have some special message for you. Watch for class news and do your share in providing it by writing to your president or secretary. Never mind if you are behind with your reading. It



William Ewart Gladstone

is not a serious matter to make up the lost work. A year is a long time and what we most want to do we are quite apt to achieve. The secret of success is in facing the situation squarely. Don't imagine that somehow you are going to get through and then drift along, but consider deliberately how much unfinished reading you have to do. Lay out a definite scheme, so many pages a week, so much a day, with a definite date when a given book or magazine article must be finished. It is the people who "scatter fire" who are always crowded and worried. Those who aim straight and hold steady accomplish a prodigious amount of good work and feel only its inspiration. 1907 will have a great Recognition Day next summer. It bears an honored name. Stand by your class.

THE CLASS OF 1910

The new C. L. S. C. Class of 1910, the twenty-ninth to enter upon the C. L. S. C. Course, has taken up its responsibilities with a unanimity which promises well for its future. Such a lively interest was developed in the coming year's course of study on England that the members unhesitatingly selected as their class name, that of Gladstone. After some discussion they chose as their emblem the beech tree, which seemed fitting not only because of its sturdy qualities but as a thoroughly English tree and at the same time one widely distributed throughout this country. To find a class motto required more consideration as the public utterances of Gladstone were not often of a sententious character and a short motto was desirable. By unanimous vote "Life is a great and noble calling" was at length selected.

The motto is taken from Gladstone's address to the students of the Grammar school at Hawarden, the full sentence being, "Life is a great and noble calling; not a mean and groveling thing that we are to shuffle through as we can, but an elevated and lofty destiny."

The membership of the Class grew rapidly from the outset. Mr. A. E. Bestor, Assistant General Director of

C. L. S. C. Class of 1910 at Chautauqua

Chautauqua Institution, was chosen for president and class spirit was fostered by frequent meetings, at one of which Chancellor Vincent addressed the members. This was just before Recognition Day, and a very large and enthusiastic gathering showed their appreciation of his helpful suggestions. At this time the Class improved the opportunity to have a photograph taken on the steps of Alumni Hall.

1910 was the first to share in a class room already occupied by three other classes but an unqualified welcome was extended by the members of '86, '94, and '02 and the freshmen were cheerfully given the right of way due to their youth and inexperience. The committee selected to prepare a temporary banner to lead the Class on Recognition Day rose to the occasion most creditably as will be seen from the banner which appears in the Class photograph. Subscriptions for 1910's share in the maintenance of Alumni Hall, for the permanent Class banner and for the tablet in the Hall of Philosophy poured into the treasurer's hands from willing members. Those who could not give at once pledged amounts to be paid later.

Many circles will be organized this fall by the members

C. L. S. C. Graduating Class of 1906 at Chautauqua

of 1910 and reports from other Chautauquas indicate that the Class interest is very widespread.

CURRENT EVENTS AND OUR ENGLISH YEAR

In reading "The English Government" during these few weeks it will be worth while for all of us to get as clear and vivid a picture of English conditions as possible. Suppose we make a point of noticing and reading in our daily and weekly papers all the important items of English news. Jot down such items and bring them to the Circle as supplementary material. These will be the best sort of sidelights on the required reading and if any of the allusions are not clearly understood they can be referred to some outside authority. Try keeping a note book of English news and see the result.

NOTES

For the benefit of graduate circles and clubs which are specializing upon the "Reading Journey" part of the course, special travel club programs will be found immediately following the regular programs.

A correction should be noted in the price announced in the September CHAUTAUQUAN for outline maps Excellent outline

Rallying Day at Chautauqua. Groups representing the Cotton and Gulf States, New England, and the Central States.

maps of England and Wales, 21x14 inches, can be furnished, postpaid for seven cents each, or seventy-five cents a dozen. The counties are clearly outlined and by means of colored crayon can be brought out so strikingly that the map will be found very effective as a wall map. Towns, villages and historic places can be located as desired. Fine colored maps, 21x28 inches, showing counties, cities, and all details can be furnished for twenty-five cents each.

In the C. L. S. C. Class Directory on pages 255-261 of this magazine the names of all Class officers for this year are given. Each member is urged to cultivate the habit of occasionally writing to the class secretary. Tell what you are doing and ask for news of the class. Such letters help to promote class spirit. The members who gather at Chautauqua and who feel the responsibility of conducting class affairs in an acceptable manner will appreciate such friendly coöperation on the part of their fellow-members.

The beautiful responsive service prepared by Chancellor Vincent and used at the dedication of the new Hall of Philosophy will be prized by many Chautauquans who were denied the privilege of being present at the time. A copy may be secured by sending a two cent stamp to Chautauqua Institution, Chautauqua, New York.

Photographs of the Classes of 1906 and 1910 as shown in this Round Table may be secured from Mr. S. A. Espey, 715 Sandusky St., Allegheny, Pa., for thirty cents each. The size is 4½x7½ inches.

CHANGE OF REQUIREMENT FOR SEAL

Graduates of the C. L. S. C. will note the following important change: 1. For reading the regular C. L. S. C. course for a given year after graduation one seal will be awarded without the filling of memoranda. 2. One white seal will be awarded for filling the brief and white seal memoranda for the same wear. This arrangement begins with this year, 1906-7.

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENTARY READING FOR GRADUATES

There are many graduates who want to make THE CHAUTAUQUAN studies the basis of their reading for the year and specialize upon some of the subjects which the course presents. The following brief specialized courses for graduates are therefore offered. One or two others will be added later.

1. Required Readings in THE CHAUTAUQUAN (September, '06, to May, '07, inclusive).

Macaulay's Essays on Clive and Warren Hastings, 25 cents each.

Life of David Livingstone, Thomas Hughes, 75 cents.

Life of James Cook, Sir W. Besant, 75 cents.

Newest England, Henry D. Lloyd, $2.50.

For the last three books the following may be substituted if desired: "Voyage up the Zambesi," and "Last Journels," by David Livingstone, each $5.00.

2. Nine Studies in THE CHAUTAUQUAN ($2.00): Imperial England (September, '06, to November, '06, inclusive).

Studies of Fifteen English Counties (December, '06, to May, '07, inclusive).

Six Studies of the Elizabethan Stage (September, '06, to February, '07, inclusive).

"What Is Shakespeare?" Professor L. A. Sherman, $1.00.

Four plays of Shakespeare: Cymbeline, The Winter's Tale, Romeo and Juliet, Macbeth. (For editions and prices, see paragraph in September Round Table.)

3. In THE CHAUTAUQUAN: A Reading Journey in English Counties, $2.00.

Life of Wordsworth, F. W. H. Myers, 40 cents.

Life of Dorothy Wordsworth, Edmund Lee, $1.25.

English Lakes in the Poems of Wordsworth, Wm. Knight.

4. In THE CHAUTAUQUAN: A Reading Journey in English Counties, $2.00.

Recollections of the Lakes and the Lake Poets, DeQuincey, $1.00.

Ruskin and the English Lakes, Rawnsley, $2.00.

England Without and Within, Richard Grant White, $2.00.

C. L. S. C. MOTTOES

"We study the Word and the Works of God."
"Let us Keep Our Heavenly Father in the Midst."
"Never be Discouraged."

C. L. S. C. MEMORIAL DAYS

OPENING DAY—October 1.
BRYANT DAY—November 3.
SPECIAL SUNDAY—November, second Sunday.
MILTON DAY—December 9.
COLLEGE DAY — January, last Thursday.
LANIER DAY—February 3.
SPECIAL SUNDAY—February, second Sunday.
LONGFELLOW DAY—February 27.
SHAKESPEARE DAY—April 23.
ADDISON DAY—May 1.
SPECIAL SUNDAY—May, second Sunday.
INTERNATIONAL PEACE DAY—May 18.
SPECIAL SUNDAY—July, second Sunday.
INAUGURATION DAY — August, first Saturday after first Tuesday.
ST. PAUL'S DAY—August, second Saturday after first Tuesday.
RECOGNITION DAY—August, third Wednesday.

OUTLINE OF REQUIRED READING FOR NOVEMBER

FIRST WEEK—

Required Books: "The English Government," Chapter VIII. "What Is Shakespeare." Chapter III. The Winter's Tale. Act I.

SECOND WEEK—

In THE CHAUTAUQUAN: "Pioneers of Empire: Robert Clive."
Required Books: "The English Government," Chapter IX. "What Is Shakespeare?" Chapter III. The Winter's Tale. Act II.

THIRD WEEK—

In THE CHAUTAUQUAN: "Pioneers of Empire: Cook and Phillip."
Required Books: "The English Government," Chapter X. "What Is Shakespeare." Chapter III. The Winter's Tale. Act III.

FOURTH WEEK—

In THE CHAUTAUQUAN: "Pioneers of Empire: Livingstone."
Required Books: "The English Government," Chapter XI. "What Is Shakespeare?" Chapter III. The Winter's Tale. Acts IV and V.

SUGGESTIVE PROGRAMS FOR LOCAL CIRCLES

In the September Round Table, page 113, suggestions were given regarding editions of Shakespeare. Review questions prepared by Professor Sherman for the study of Cymbeline will be found in the Membership Book and for The Winter's Tale in the back of "What Is Shakespeare?"

Circles whch have no library facilities will often find that by the expenditure of trifling sums they can secure excellent supplementary material. In the program suggested below for the "first week," a few copies of the *Review of Reviews* for January, 1906, will provide the Circle with sketches and portraits of the present members of the British Cabinet which can be used again and again until the members of the Circle know these public officials as well as their English constituents do. Such familiarity with great personalities of our own time will help to give us a live interest in political affairs across the sea.

The review of the lesson may be conducted by one person by means of questions, or separate paragraphs may be assigned in advance to individuals to explain allusions, bring out the chief points, etc. Circles which devote themselves wholly to the study of the required books will find ample material in the study of unusual words, pronunciation of proper names, map review, etc.

FIRST WEEK

Review of Chapter VIII in "The English Government."

Oral Report: How and why the present British Cabinet came into power. (See recent magazine articles.)

Brief Reports: Character sketches with photographs if possible of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, James Bryce, John Morley, John Burns, Augustine Birrell, Herbert Gladstone, The Marquis of Ripon, Sir Edward Grey and other members of the new English Cabinet. (Circles which have no libraries will find portraits and sketches in *Review of Reviews* for January, 1906. See also *The Critic* for May, 1906. Many other references can be found in libraries.)

Study of The Winter's Tale, Act I. (See Review Questions in the back of "What Is Shakespeare?")
Roll-call: Quotations from The Winter's Tale.

SECOND WEEK

Review of Chapter IX in "The English Government."
Game of Cabinet Officers: Each member should impersonate one of the members of the existing cabinet and by remarks showing his characteristic point of view or his relation to the cabinet lead the Circle to guess his identity. This will enable each member to enter into sympathy with the ideas of the person assigned to him. Facts can be secured from magazine articles, biographical dictionaries and allusions in the press. English papers like the *Illustrated London News*, *Punch*, and the English magazines will be worth consulting. (See paragraph at head of these programs.)
Review of Article on "Clive" in THE CHAUTAUQUAN.
Readings: Selections from "The Library Shelf" describing the trial of Warren Hastings as given by Macaulay. In "Glimpses of England," by Moses Coit Tyler, there is an entertaining description of Disraeli's appearance in the House of Commons as compared with that of other prominent men of his time. (See also references in paragraphs 30 and 31, page 366, "The English Government.")
Study of The Winter's Tale, Act II.
Roll-call: Quotations from The Winter's Tale.

THIRD WEEK

Brief reports on current events bearing upon the lesson.
Review of Chapter X in "The English Government."
Brief character sketches with portraits if possible of the three Princes of the Royal Blood, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London, Durham, and Winchester, and the Lord Chancellor. Definitions also of terms duke, earl, baron, etc.
Reading: Selection from Richard Grant White's "England Without and Within" (see chapters VIII and XIII). His description of a quiet hour in Canterbury Cathedral is most impressive. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1900, was a man of unusual powers. Numerous magazine articles about him have appeared. (See *The Outlook*, 78:260-5, Oct. 1, '04; *Review of Reviews*, 30:386, 586, Oct. and Nov., '04.)
Review of "Pioneers of Empire: Cook and Phillip."
Reading: Selections from "Ancestry of the English Theater," in this magazine.
Study of The Winter's Tale, Act III.
Roll-call: Quotations from The Winter's Tale.

FOURTH WEEK

Review of Chapter XI in "The English Government."
Debate: "Resolved, That the House of Lords should be abolished." This debate may be conducted in the ordinary way by two speakers, or the Circle may divide into two sections each with a leader, and all come provided with arguments. In any case members should be expected to select one side on which to range themselves, and in case of the first form of debate between two speakers, arrange for a brief recess in which they may confer with their respective champions and suggest further points. Supplementary material is mentioned by Professor

Moran, but the required book alone gives enough points to enable any Circle to discuss the question with vigor.

Review of Professor Lavell's article on Livingstone.

Reading: Selection from "The Library Shelf" or other material relating to Livingstone. Stanley's account of meeting him; the story of his last days; or experiences which show the importance of his discoveries. (See "Livingstone's Last Journals," "How I Found Livingstone," Stanley; Life of Livingstone, by Thomas Hughes.)

Study of The Winter's Tale, Acts IV and V.

Roll-call: Quotations from The Winter's Tale.

THE TRAVEL CLUB

For C. L. S. C. graduate circles and clubs which are devoting themselves exclusively to the travel features of the course, special programs will be provided each month under the head of "The Travel Club." The articles by Miss Bates will begin with the December CHAUTAUQUAN, but preparations may be made for this journey with great advantage during this and next month: Baedeker's Guide Book for Great Britain will be found indispensable.

FIRST PROGRAM—

Map Review: The physiography of England showing character of the different sections, chief rivers, lakes, mountain regions, forests, chalk downs, etc. (See encyclopedias under the various English counties, English histories, etc.)

Study of Scott's "Waverley": Taking up, 1. The historical setting. 2. The plot. 3. Particularly effective descriptions. 4. Allusions to places. 5. Notable characters and their traits. 6. The novel as a whole. Is it true to life?

Reading: Selections from Richard Grant White's "England Without and Within," Chapter IX on "English Men"; Chapter X on "English Women."

Roll-call: Characteristic flowers of England as they are referred to in English poetry. (See collections of English poetry and works of the leading English poets.)

SECOND PROGRAM—

Map Review: Roman England. (See Baedeker's Guide Book, Freeman's "Old English History," and larger histories of England, encyclopedias, etc.)

Book Review: "The Trip to England," Goldwin Smith.

Reading: Selections from "England Without and Within," Chapter XI on "English Manners," or Chapter XVI on "English in England."

Paper: Significant events in Saxon and Danish England. (See Green's Short History of England, or other works.)

Roll-call: Origins of the names of the fifteen western counties which we are to study.

THIRD PROGRAM—

Paper and Map Review: Norman England, reviewing significant events and noting places particularly associated with Norman times.

Book Review: One or more of the following books: Maurice Hewlett's "Richard Yea and Nay"; Howard Pyle's "Merry Adventures of Robin Hood"; Scott's "Betrothed."

Paper: Significant Events in Plantagenet England.
Reading: Selections from "England Without and Within," Chapters XIII on "Nobility and Gentry," or XIV on "Taurus Centaurus."
Roll-call: Definitions of terms used in describing features of English architecture. (See encyclopedia articles on English architecture, article in Baedeker, Parker's "Glossary of Terms of Architecture," "A, B, C of Gothic Architecture," Statham's "Architecture for General Readers," and other works available.)

ANSWERS TO SEARCH QUESTIONS ON OCTOBER READINGS

1. Normandy and the suzerainty of Brittany inherited from his Norman ancestors. Maine and Anjou from his father, and Poitou, Guienne and Gascony acquired by marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine. 2. Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth. 3. Dean of St. Paul's, 1505, and founder of St. Paul's School, 1512. Theologian and classical scholar. 4. A Dutch classical and theological scholar and satirist, entered the service of the Bishop of Cambray through whom he was enabled to study at the University of Paris, visited England and finally settled in Switzerland where he died at Basel in 1536. Refused all offers of ecclesiastical promotion and devoted himself to study and writing. He aimed to reform without dismembering the Roman Catholic Church and at first favored but later opposed the Reformation. His most notable work was an edition of the New Testament in Greek with a Latin translation. 5. Born in London, 1478. Executed on Tower Hill, 1535. English statesman and author. In his early life thought of becoming a monk but afterwards devoted himself largely to politics. Entered Parliament at the age of twenty-six. Eleven years later was sent to Flanders to settle disputes with the merchants of the Steelyard. His "Utopia" was published in the following year. Held several offices under Henry VIII, defended the Papacy against Luther and succeeded Wolsey as Chancellor. Opposed reforms projected by Parliament and ultimately was tried and executed for high treason on his refusal to take the oath of adherence to an act which involved renunciation of the Pope. 6. Lorenzo de Medici surnamed the Magnificent. A celebrated Florentine statesman and patron of letters. He was practically dictator of the republic from 1478 till his death in 1492. 7. It was assigned to the Portuguese by the Pope who fixed upon a certain meridian as the dividing line betwen the claims of Spain and Portugal. 8. When Lord Burleigh proposed that England rally the Protestant states against Philip II and Catholic Europe. 9. Formerly a town in Kent and Surrey, England, now a part of London. 10. A name applied somewhat vaguely to the northern coast of South America above the mouth of the Orinoco. The term probably derived from the Spanish *Tierra Firme* used in the sixteenth century for this region.

C. L. S. C. Class Directory--1882-1910

UNDERGRADUATE CLASSES

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Motto: "Life is a great and noble calling." Emblem: The Beech.

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Motto: "To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield." Emblem: The Red Rose.

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Motto: "The aim of education is character." Emblem: The Scarlet Salvia.

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Chairman of Building Fund, Mrs. J. C. B. Stivers, 9411 Lamont avenue, N. E., Cleveland, Ohio.

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Motto: "To love light and seek knowledge must be always right." Emblem: The Lily.

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Class Poet: Robert Browning.

Motto: "A man's reach should exceed his grasp." Emblem: The Cosmos.

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Motto: "The horizon widens as we climb." Emblem: The Clematis.

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Treasurer, Mrs. M. K. Walker, Meadville, Pa.

CLASS OF 1903—"QUARTER-CENTURY" CLASS

Motto: "What is excellent is permanent." Emblems: The Cornflower: Three ears of corn (red, white, and blue).

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Motto: "Not for self, but for all." Emblem: The Golden Glow.
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Motto: "Light, Love, Life." Emblem: The Palm.
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Vice-presidents: Mrs. Samuel George, Wellsville, W. Va.; Mrs. Ellsworth Savage, Churchville, N. Y.; Miss Clara Mathews, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Miss F. A. P. Spurway, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Dr. B. F. Miesse, Chillicothe, O.; Miss Caroline Leech, Louisville, Ky.; Miss Elizabeth Stewart, Orange, N. J.; Mrs. Elizabeth Stockton, Williamsburg, O.; Miss Margaret Hackley, Georgetown, Ky.; Mrs. Laura Banks, New York City.
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Class Trustee, Miss Margaret Hackley, Georgetown, Ky.

CLASS OF 1900—"THE NINETEENTH CENTURY"

Motto: " Faith in the God of Truth; hope for the unfolding centuries; charity toward all endeavor." "Licht, Liebe, Leben." Emblem: The Pine.
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Vice-presidents: Mrs. William J. Ritchey, Pittsburg, Pa.; Mrs. Hannah Shur, El Paso, Ill.; Mrs. J. Preston Hall, Fredonia, N. Y.; Mrs. L. Ohligschlager, Louisville, Ky.
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Trustee, Miss Annie Morey, Chautauqua, N. Y.

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Motto: "Fidelity, Fraternity." Emblem: The Flag.
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Vice-president, Miss M. A. Bortle, Washington, D. C.
Secretary, Mrs. J. E. McVey, Youngstown, O.
Treasurer, Mrs. J. B. Ritts, Butler, Pa.

CLASS OF 1898—"THE LANIERS"

Motto: "The humblest life that lives may be divine." Emblem: The Violet.
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Honorary Members: Mr. and Mrs. Clifford Lanier, Montgomery, Ala.
Vice-presidents: Mary J. Askew Mather, Wilmington, Del.; Rev. Robert P. Gibson, Croton Falls, N. Y.; Miss Ella Schofield,

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Treasurer, Miss Fanny B. Collins, Grand View, Ohio.

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Motto: "Veni, Vidi, Vici." Emblem: The Ivy.

President, Miss Mary Wallace Kimball, 27 W. 38th street, New York City.

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Assistant Secretary, Mrs. C. M. Thomas, Grove City, Pa.

CLASS OF 1896—"THE TRUTH SEEKERS"

Motto: "Truth is eternal." Emblems: The Forget-me-not. The Greek Lamp.

President, Mr. Frank D. Frisbie, Newton, Mass.

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Secretary and Treasurer, Miss Emily E. Birchard, 28 Penrose avenue, Cleveland, O.

Trustee, Mr. J. R. Conner, Franklin, Pa.

CLASS OF 1895—"THE PATHFINDERS"

Motto: "The truth shall make you free." Emblem: The Nasturtium.

Honorary President, Mr. Robert A. Miller, Ponce, Porto Rico.

President, Mrs. George P. Hukill, Oil City, Pa.

Vice-presidents: Mrs. Robert A. Miller, Ponce, Porto Rico; Mrs. E. H. Peters, Newark, N. J.; Mrs. B. F. Sawvell, Greenville, Pa.

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CLASS OF 1894—"THE PHILOMATHEANS"

Motto: "Ubi mel, ibi apes." Emblem: The Clover.

President, Rev. A. C. Ellis, Oil City, Pa.

Vice-presidents: Rev. D. A. Cunningham, D. D., Wheeling, W. Va.; Rev. J. B. Countryman, Penfield, N. Y.; Miss M. L. Monroe, Southport, Conn.; Mrs. J. W. Ralston, Danville, Ill.; Mrs. J. M. Coble, Dallas, Tex.; Mr. James A. Moore, Allegheny, Pa.

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CLASS OF 1893—"THE ATHENIANS"

Motto: "Study to be what you wish to seem." Emblem: The Acorn.

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Treasurer, Mrs. Julia H. Thayer, Sherman, N. Y.

Class Trustee, Mr. T. H. Paden, New Concord, O

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Motto: "Seek and ye shall find." Emblem: The Carnation.

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Motto: "So run that ye may obtain." Emblem: The Laurel and the White Rose.

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Historian, Mrs. William Breeden, Jamestown, N. Y.

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Motto: "Redeeming the time." Emblem: The Tuberose.

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Motto: "Knowledge unused for the good of others is more vain than unused gold." Emblem: The Daisy.

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Treasurer, Miss Mary Emma Landfear, 125 St. John street, New Haven, Conn.

CLASS OF 1888—"THE PLYMOUTH ROCK"

Motto: "Let us be seen by our deeds." Emblem: The Geranium.

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Motto: "Neglect not the gift that is in thee." Emblem: The Pansy.

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Motto: "We study for light to bless with light." Emblem: The Aster.

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Motto: "Press on, reaching after those things which are before." Emblem: The Heliotrope.

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Motto: "Press forward; he conquers who wills." Emblem: The Goldenrod.

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Motto: "Step by step we gain the heights." Emblem: The Sweet Pea.

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President, Mr. William H. Westcott,* Holley, N. Y.
Vice-presidents: Rev. D. A. Cunningham, Wheeling, W. Va.; Mr. John A. Travis, Washington, D. C.
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Building Committee: Mr. William H. Westcott, Russell L. Hall, and John R. Conner.
*Deceased.

DIARY AND LETTERS OF WILHELM MULLER. Edited by Philip Schuyler Allen and James Taft Hatfield. pp. 200. 6¼x9. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

That "The Diary and Letters of Wilhelm Müller" should be dedicated to Mrs. Georgina Max-Müller by Messrs. Allen and Hatfield seems fitting enough, since the original material for this commendable work came into the editors' hands through the courtesy of the wife of the poet's son.

As stated in the editorial note, until recently there was but little known of the personality of Wilhelm Müller, for the fire which consumed the poet's library in Dessau destroyed almost all of the materials upon which studies of his intimate life could be based. It is, therefore, with much satisfaction that the student of German Literature welcomes the interesting diary and letters of this nineteenth century poet made accessible in so attractive a form.

But it is not the German literary scholar alone who will reap pleasure and profit from the book. It is decidedly readable and the diary especially, holds one's interest like a novel. The Schubert enthusiast will find through it a means of gaining a deeper insight into the real life of the man whose charming songs he is likely to hear at any concert, for Schubert belongs to Müller quite as much as Schumann does to Heine. There is hardly a German poet whose songs are sung as often as those of Wilhelm Müller (Müller "Gedichte." Ed. Max Müller. Leipzig, 1868.) Müller's exceedingly musical ear perhaps accounts in part for that quality of his poems which has touched the very heartstrings of humanity. Moreover, Müller is a true Romanticist. In reading the diary of the young man, begun on his 21st birthday, we are transported into the atmosphere of Novalis, Tieck, Fougué and the rest of the German Romantic School, and as this draws to a close, we regret that it was not for us to have known the captivating Luise Hensel.

The letters are largely addressed to the poet's wife, Adelheid, and give us, in addition to the glimpse into his domestic life, a miniature panorama of literary Germany at the time when Goethe was seventy. Indeed, in Müller we find the Europe of his time reflected and to the student of general literature the glance into the general movement of Romanticism afforded by a perusal of these letters and the diary cannot fail to be gratifying.

One of the delightful features of the book is the artistic

reproduction of a pencil sketch of the youthful Wilhelm Müller done by his friend Hensel, brother of Luise. The editors have made their book a work of distinction and merit. The notes are most suggestive and the print and paper a source of pleasure to the reader.

THE CITY THE HOPE OF DEMOCRACY. Frederic C. Howe. pp. 319. 8x5½. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1905.

Here is a book of enlightenment for American citizens, treating of tendencies in American life more or less vaguely recognized by all but needing correlation and classification so that one may understand more of their significance. The author holds that the fundamental city problem is economic and industrial; personal and ethical conditions, to which public attention—academic or in "reform" movements—has been heretofore directed, being incidental. In developing this thesis, Mr. Howe draws upon personal experience as a member of the city council of Cleveland, Ohio, where a striking contest between "big business" privilege seekers and the economic interests of city dwellers has been in progress during recent years. This struggle is typical and its ramifications lead to consideration of the boss, the party, and the "System," which privilege has organized from ward, through council and state legislature, up to the United States Senate. The author advances arguments for municipal ownership of natural monopolies as a remedy which will be new to many readers who have feared resort to it in desperation. And he has, moreover, dealt pointedly with taxation as a democratic weapon against privilege—a neglected factor in much current discussion. No serious student of city problems can afford not to read this book. F. C. B.

CHRONICLES OF A LITTLE TOT. Edmund Vance Cooke. pp. 118. 8½x6. $1.50. New York: Dodge Publishing Co.

That anyone can fail to enjoy chronicles like these is incredible. In groups they pertain to "The Cradlers," "The Creepers," "The Cruisers," "The Climbers," successive stages of childhood, and "In Remembrance," "The Little Boy Who Left Us," and other heart-string songs.

There is genius in such child-verse as "The Intruder," and "The Cruise of the Good Ship Little Tot;" "Unsaid" is exquisite poetry that touches the heart; "Throwing the Shoe" is clever; to characterize a few titles among the delightful and varied collection in the volume. The color illustrations are appropriate and fetching. F. C. B.

News Summary

DOMESTIC

August 1—Iowa Republicans renominate Governor Albert B. Cummins.

7.—The killing of five Japanese poachers by Americans on one of the Aleutian Islands and the taking of twelve Japanese prisoners for seal poaching by the revenue cutter *McCulloch* are reported to Washington.

12.—Secretary of the Navy Bonaparte, speaking on anarchism and its remedy, before the Cumberland Chautauqua (Maryland), proposes drastic treatment for this evil.

15.—Nebraska Democrats nominate Ashton C. Shallenberger for governor, and indorse William J. Bryan for the presidency.

17.—The first election in Alaska for delegates to Congress results in the choice of Thomas Cale for the long term and Mr. Waskey for the short term. J. S. Harlan, of Chicago, is appointed by the President to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

25.—President Roosevelt issues proclamation appealing for aid in behalf of Chile.

29.—William J. Bryan is welcomed home from his foreign trip by leaders of the Democratic party. In a speech Mr. Bryan advocates national ownership of railroads.

FOREIGN

August 1.—Debate on the education bill begins in the British House of Lords.

2.—The colonial marriages bill passes the British House of Commons.

4.—The British Parliament adjourns until October 23.

6.—The Pan-American Conference at Rio adopts resolutions in favor of arbitrating all disputes between South American states.

10.—It is officially announced that the Persian government has issued a decree granting to the people of that country a national assembly.

12.—King Menelik of Abyssinia signs the Franco-Italian-British treaty relative to commercial equality and railway construction in his country.

14.—The terms of the Pope's encyclical upholding the French clergy in their opposition to the separation law are made public.

16.—Several heavy earthquake shocks, followed by extensive fires, cause great destruction of life and property in Valparaiso, Santiago, and other Chilean cities.

20.—Two uprisings against the Cuban government are reported from the provinces of Santa Clara and Pinar del Rio.

22.—The conference at Rio Janeiro adopts unanimously a resolution recommending the submission of the "Drago Doctrine" to The Hague tribunal.

25.—An attempt is made to kill Premier Stolypin with a bomb. He is only slightly injured, but twenty-eight bystanders are killed and twenty-four injured.

OBITUARY

August 4.—Rear-Admiral Charles Jackson Train, commander of the Asiatic Fleet, U. S. N. The Duke of Rutland (John James Robert Manners).

13.—Mrs. Pearl Mary Teresa Craigie ("John Oliver Hobbes") novelist and dramatist.

31.—Edward Rosewater, founder and editor of the Omaha *Bee*

Reports from Summer Assemblies for 1906

PACIFIC GROVE, CALIFORNIA

Pacific Grove Chautauqua Assembly, held from July 9-21, was as successful as usual, despite the disaster at San Francisco of last spring which has necessarily affected summer gatherings upon the Pacific Coast. This is the twenty-seventh year of this Chautauqua Assembly and on the opening night a reception in the nature of an "Old First Night" was held. The founding of the Assembly by Dr. Vincent was recalled and the trials and hardships which the founders underwent in the year 1879. Another feature recalling the parent Institution at Chautauqua, New York, was the "Feast of Lanterns," an innovation that proved very popular. Recognition exercises were held July 18, and the Recognition Day address was given by Prof. J. Keep of Mills College. A telegram from Chancellor Vincent was read at this occasion. Among the features of the Assembly were: Attorney-General Hadley, Capt. Jack Crawford, Dr. Charles Edward Lock, Mrs. Martha Gielow, Rosani, and others. Rev. E. McClish, D. D., of College Park, is President of the Assembly, Mrs. E. J. Dawson, of San Jose, General Secretary and Treasurer.

CONNECTICUT CHAUTAUQUA, FORESTVILLE, CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut Chautauqua Assembly was held July 12-25. As usual, great emphasis was laid upon the C. L. S. C. work under the supervision of the Chautauqua Representative, Rev. Daniel W. Howell. The Recognition Day exercises were a feature of the session and a large number of the students received diplomas. Mayor Henney of Hartford, Connecticut, was the Recognition Day speaker. He spoke appreciatively of the educational and cultural work accomplished by the Chautauqua course. Following the services a Recognition Day banquet for Alumni and friends was held, with toasts from many of the graduates, old and new.

Round Table work was emphasized throughout the session by afternoon meetings devoted to the discussion of topics pertaining to the C. L. S. C. work. A Shakespeare course conducted by Mr. Spencer of Hartford, Connecticut, contributed to this feature of the Assembly.

Among the program and educational features were the lectures and talks of Prof. F. S. Goodrich, recitations from Riley and Field by the Rev. C. S. Kemble, picture evenings on Evangeline and Hiawatha by the Rev. A. T. Hempton, sermons by the Rev. R. H. Potter, the work in Nature Study, Bible, Domestic Science, Music, Literature, Elocution, Delsarte, Shakespeare, and Boy's Work. The president and Chautauqua representative of the Connecticut Chautauqua Association is the Rev. Daniel W. Howell, 411 Windsor Avenue, Hartford, Conn. The dates for the Assembly of 1907 will be, probably, July 11-24.

LINCOLN, ILLINOIS

The fifth annual Assembly of Lincoln (Ill.) Chautauqua, August 15-26, 1906, was the best in its history. More than two hundred tents and cottages were used, an increase of one-third over the preceding year. An additional tract of twenty acres was purchased and added to the camp ground. Monday, August 20, was Chautauqua

Day, Rev. George M. Brown being the speaker, on "The Growth of an Idea." Five Round Tables were conducted by Rev. Daniel W. Howell, of Hartford, Conn., and as a result of his splendid enthusiasm and untiring energy forty-five readers have been enrolled for the Class of 1910. There will be circles in Lincoln and in several of the surrounding towns. A C. L. S. C. Association was organized with Prof. C. S. Oglevee as President and D. H. Harts, Jr., as Secretary.

In addition to the Round Tables there were Bible lectures by Dr. Howell, a Cooking School, Boys' and Girls' Club, and Kindergarten. Features of the program were: Dr. Wm. A. Colledge, in his series on Scotch Authors, Mrs. Leonora Lake, Governor Folk, Frank Dixon, Elbert Hubbard, Balmer's Kaffir Boy Choir, the Parland-Newhall Company, and Rounds' Ladies' Orchestra.

Dates for 1907 are August 14-27 inclusive. C. E. Gullett, Lincoln, Ill., is Secretary. C. L. S. C. Representative is D. H. Harts, Jr.

LITHIA SPRINGS, ILLINOIS

The C. L. S. C. feature of the Lithia Springs Assembly, always strong in Chautauqua spirit, was the formation on Recognition Day of the Lithia Springs Alumni Association. A banquet was held, attended by fifty-one members. Dr. G. M. Brown conducted the Round Tables at the session and aroused wide interest in the C. L. S. C. reading course. An Alumni Association of over fifty members was formed. Jasper L. Douthit is Manager and Winifred Douthit is C. L. S. C. Representative.

PETERSBURG, ILLINOIS

The sixteen-day Assembly of the Old Salem Chautauqua at Petersburg, Illinois, closed on August 23. The Assembly was the best of the nine conducted by the Institution and showed a healthy increase in attendance. Over four thousand people occupied cottages and tents upon the grounds. Many new cottages, a new hotel and bath house, were built, and extensive water and sewer systems were installed. A fine new building known as the Hall of Applied Christianity is promised the association by an anonymous friend. The important event of the season was the presentation of the historic site of New Salem to the Association by William Randolph Hearst. New Salem was the home of Abraham Lincoln in the days of his young manhood.

The C. L. S. C. department was conducted by Rev. M. C. Cockrum. About fifty readers were enrolled with more to follow. Upon Recognition Day addresses were delivered by D. E. Bushnell, D. D., and A. G. Bergen, D. D. The C. L. S. C. department will be four years old next season and the first graduating class from its readers will receive diplomas at that time. A movement is well under way to erect a Hall of Philosophy for the C. L. S. C. work.

In the Educational department the schools of Bible Study, Sunday-School Methods, Expression, Popular Science, Economics, History, Music, and Physical Culture deserve special mention.

Features of the program were: Addresses by Governors Hanly of Indiana and Folk of Missouri, William Randolph Hearst, Bishop Hartzell, Ernest Thompson-Seton, Opie Read, Mayor Dunne of Chicago, Paul M. Pearson, and others.

Correspondence should be addressed to the Superintendent of the Old Salem Chautauqua, Petersburg, Illinois.

PIASA CHAUTAUQUA ASSEMBLY, ILLINOIS

The Piasa Chautauqua Assembly held its twenty-third annual session from July 19 to August 15. The dates for 1907 will probably be from July 18 to August 14. The C. L. S. C. work was handicapped by local conditions during the past season, but the outlook is for greater interest next year. Among the lecture numbers which gave special satisfaction were those by Sam Jones, "Bob" Taylor, H. W. Sears, L. G. Herbert, Attorney-General Herbert L. Hadley, Sylvester A. Long, Opie Read and W. A. Colledge, while the illustrated lectures by Charles A. Payne, the programs by Miss Phoebe Mae Roberts, and the concerts by Jeffries Concert Band, The Parland-Newhall Co., and Rounds' Ladies' Orchestra were among the best of the entertainment features. More interest than usual was taken in the different Assembly schools and new departments will be added next year. While a number of cottages were built this season and many more are to be put up before the season of 1907 the greatest improvement of the past year has been the extension of the sanitary sewerage system. W. O. Paisley, Lincoln, Ill., is C. L. S. C. Representative and General Manager.

FOUNTAIN PARK ASSEMBLY, INDIANA

The session of the Fountain Park Assembly was held from August 11-26. Mrs. Charles E. Risser, of Des Moines, had charge of the C. L. S. C. hour, one of the most attractive features of the program. The talks on New Zealand and the English Government excited much discussion, and Prof. Moran's book upon the English Government won many friends for the C. L. S. C. "English Year." A large Reading Circle was organized among the residents of Remington, Indiana. The President of the Circle is Prof. Breeze, Superintendent of Schools. Robert Parker, Remington, Indiana, is Superintendent of the Assembly.

ISLAND PARK ASSEMBLY, WESTERN CHAUTAUQUA, ROME CITY, INDIANA

The twenty-eighth annual session of the Island Park Assembly closed on August 17 after a successful session of twenty-four days. The C. L. S. C. had fine headquarters and was carefully conducted by Miss Katharine Harper. The Recognition Day services were carried out under the direction of Dr. W. L. Davidson, who gave the Recognition Day address, and Miss Harper. Mr. Davidson spoke upon the value of the Chautauqua Reading Course to thousands of readers who by it attain a broader outlook than they would otherwise attain. The Rev. S. Parks Cadman on the afternoon of Recognition Day spoke upon "London," a subject of great interest to Chautauquans in view of the present "English Year." Other features of the platform were: W. B. Slutz, Alfred Kummer, W. D. Parr, W. L. Boswell, Dr. N. C. Love, Judge Thos. McGrady, Dr. John Vassil Barnhill, A. M. Schoyer, Rev. D. R. Lucas, Dr. W. J. Dawson, Bishop J. C. Hartzell, Dr. Geo. R. Stuart, etc. Rev. J. F. Snyder, of La Grange, Indiana, is Secretary of the Assembly. Miss Katharine D. Harper, of Goshen, Indiana, is C. L. S. C. Secretary.

ALLERTON, IOWA

The eighth annual Assembly of the Allerton Chautauqua from August 15-22 was entirely successful. The C. L. S. C. work was in charge of Miss Inez F. Kelso, of Corydon, Iowa. She enrolled a number of readers for the new year. Features of the program were:

Henry Clark, Hon. C. B. Landis, Rev. W. G. Searles, Prof. Bowman, Dr. F. F. Fox, Rev. W. H. Williams, J. L. Zwickey, Dr Thomas McClary, etc. J. A. Shannon, of Allerton, is Secretary of the Assembly.

CLARINDA, IOWA

The tenth annual Assembly of the Clarinda Chautauqua was held August 8-17. Several times during the session the attendance taxed the capacity of the grounds and there were splendid audiences throughout. The educational lectures in the forenoon sessions drew uniformly large audiences. Features of the instruction and entertainment program were: Dr. George L. Robinson, Paul M. Pearson, Irving W. Lorimore, Mrs. Eleanor Bingham, Governor Hanly, Booker T. Washington, C. C. McCabe, Frank R. Roberson, Dunbar Co., Cleveland Ladies' Orchestra, Phoebe Mae Roberts, and D. W. Robertson. Mrs. Bingham gave the Recognition Day address upon "Opportunity." There were five graduates. Many improvements were made this year in the water and sewage arrangements, etc. William Orr, of Clarinda, Iowa, is President, Manager, and C. L. S. C. Representative.

LINCOLN PARK CHAUTAUQUA, KANSAS

The Clear Lake Assembly held a successful eight-day session from July 30-August 6. The strong program in charge of Dr. W. W. Carlton, the Secretary, included Governor Folk, C. L. Stafford, Prof. George Moody, Bishops McCabe and Hartzell, Secretary Shaw, L. Long, The Parland-Newhall Bell Ringers, and others. Prof. Evers of Minneapolis was the C. L. S. C. speaker. Correspondence should be addressed to Dr. W. W. Carlton, Mason City, Iowa.

FORT DODGE, IOWA

A gratifying feature of the Fort Dodge Assembly was the enrollment of new readers of the C. L. S. C. course, eighty in number. Prof. Monk is Secretary of the Assembly.

LINCOLN PARK CHAUTAUQUA. KANSAS

The Lincoln Park Chautauqua is assuming a permanent organization of late. Many cottages have been erected, the W. C. T. U. has erected a handsome building, and the Woman's Clubs are working for a permanent home. The session of this year lasted sixteen days. The Department of Summer School work was increasingly strong. The C. L. S. C. enrollment was seventy-one. Miss Meddie Ovington Hamilton, of Kansas City, was in charge of the C. L. S. C. work. Features of the platform were: Hon. J. L. Bristow, Prof. Marshall C. Crouch, Governor Folk, Senator LaFollette Father Moran, Dr. Wm. Spurgeon, Gov. Bob Taylor, Booker T. Washington, Judge Ben F. Lindsay, Pitt Parker, Rev. I. R. Hikks, etc. E. L. Huckell, of Cawker City, Kansas, is Secretary, and Miss Meddie Ovington Hamilton, Kansas City High School, Kansas, C. L. S. C. Representative.

OTTAWA, KANSAS

The twenty-seventh annual session of the Ottawa Assembly from June 19-29, 1906, was highly successful. The C. L. S. C. was in charge of Meddie Ovington Hamilton and the enrollment of new C. L. S. C. Course readers was sixty-one. Several circles were started in surrounding towns. Prof. Murray G. Hill, head of the Department of Literature in Ottawa University, was enrolled as leader of the Benson Circle. The Round Tables were largely attended, the audiences numbering from several hundred to a thousand people. Speakers at the

Round Tables were: Anna Thorton Jones, Florence L. Snow, M. F. Pearson, on "Rational Living," Prof. Schwegler on "Greek Art," Prof. Orvin S. Olin, "The Unique Civilization of New Zealand," Lincoln Hulley, vesper service, "The Beatitudes," Rev. and Mrs. W. A. Brown, "Our Oriental Possessions," and the Rev. Wm. Quayle. The Recognition address was given by Dr. Quayle on "The Idylls of the King." The Recognition Day services, concluding with a banquet, were largely attended. Several hundred Chautauquans took part.

Other features were: Rev. M. E. Andrews, Dr. Gunsaulus, Mrs. Bartlett McKenzie, Judge Ben Lindsay, Father L. F. Vaughn, Judge Peter S. Grosscup, Dr. Chas. A. Killie, Prof. Paul M. Pearson, and Governor Mickey of Nebraska. The Secretary of the Assembly is E. L. Skinner, Ottawa, Kansas.

WINFIELD, KANSAS

The session of the Winfield Assembly for 1906 opened on the evening of June 19 and closed on the evening of June 29, covering a period of eleven days. Recognition Day services were held on June 25 and the annual address was given by Dr. Leon H. Vincent, of Boston, on the subject of "Heroic Reading." Thirty-eight diplomas were given and forty graduates passed through the Golden Gate. The usual Round Tables were held at the four o'clock hour through the entire session, and ninety persons enrolled for the course of 1906-7. One of the noticeable features of this season was that the circles from other towns established headquarters and kept open house for their friends on the Assembly grounds.

The C. L. S. C., under the successful direction of Miss Lillian A. Walton, of Winfield, continued to hold first place in the afternoon meetings; and Miss Walton will be in charge of that department for next year.

Hon. Herbert S. Hadley, Dr. Hunter Corbett, Father Vaughan, Dr. J. W. Conley of Omaha, Leon H. Vincent, Hon. Oliver W. Stewart, were all new to Winfield people, and were, in every sense, successful on the platform. Dr. George L. Robinson, Dr. Gunsaulus, Dr. Charles Bayard Mitchell, and Dr. Thomas E. Green had appeared at Winfield before.

The departments of Sacred Literature, English Literature, Sunday-School Methods were among the active summer school classes of the season. The Boys' and Girls' Clubs and the kindergarten enrolled over four hundred members. The Missionary Congress was an interesting feature of the session, and the Y. M. C. A. and the Music and Art classes were well attended.

A. H. Limerick, First National Bank Building, Winfield, is Secretary of the Assembly.

CUMBERLAND, MARYLAND

The C. L. S. C. work at Cumberland, though much hindered by the rainy weather, excited wide interest under the able direction of Mr. George M. Brown. Over twenty readers were enrolled during his short stay and there was every prospect that this number would be largely increased in the near future.

WASHINGTON GROVE, MARYLAND

The Washington Grove Chautauqua held its session from July 23 to September 2, dates which will be about the same next season. C. L. S. C. Round Tables with topics and discussion were held every Thursday evening throughout the session. The speaker for Recog-

niton Day, August 17, was the Reverend E. C. Powers, who spoke upon "Reaching in for Growing Out." There was one graduate. Summer school features were: The Kindergarten Class, the Art Class, and the class in Self-Expression. Some of the most successful program features were Shakespearian recitals, moving pictures, Mexican Trio Serenaders, illustrated travel lectures, Lyric Male Quartet, Pamahasika's Birds and Dogs. C. L. S. C. Representative is W. H. H. Smith, Navy Department, Washington, D. C., and the Secretary, Robert E. Cook, 1510 Kingman Place, Washington, D. C.

CARTHAGE, MISSOURI

The Carthage Chautauqua passed the most successful season in the ten years of its existence, and the prospects for the season of 1907 are yet better. The dates for next season will probably be the same as this year, July 3-12 inclusive. The Recognition Day speaker was Dr. W. W. Elwang, the number of C. L. S. C. graduates being five. Features of the program were: Dr. D. F. Fox, Dr. H. L. Willett, Elbert Hubbard, Mrs. E. A. Vosburgh, Dunbar Quartet, Opie Read. The president of the Assembly is G. C. Hohenstein, Carthage, Mo., and the C. L. S. C. Representative, Mrs. R. Taffe.

DEXTER, MISSOURI

The second season of the Dexter, Missouri, Chautauqua Assembly extended from August 1-10. Mrs. Fenetta Sargent Haskell made a short address upon Recognition Day, August 9, and presented diplomas to the two graduates. The Round Table was held each day and created much interest in the C. L. S. C. Features of the program were: Home-coming Day, the Old Fiddlers' Contest, The Chicago Lyceum Ladies' Quartet, Col. Bain's lectures, Mrs. Haskell's readings. The Assembly will continue next season with a new auditorium and other improvements. Mr. Charles E. Stokes is Manager, and Mrs. Stokes C. L. S. C. Representative.

MEXICO, MISSOURI

Mr. and Mrs. Chas. E. Stokes of Kansas City, assisted by Mr. and Mrs. Joseph B. More of Mexico, established a Chautauqua Assembly at Mexico, Missouri, this season. The dates of the Assembly were August 14-20. The Assembly was a decided success, creating much interest and enthusiasm among the people. C. L. S. C. headquarters were established and a Round Table was conducted each day by Mrs. Stokes. No Recognition Day was held but one will be held next year, when there will be several graduates to receive diplomas. Features of the Assembly platform were: Col. Bain, Capt. Hobson, Miss Belle Kearney, Lyric Glee Club, and Mrs. Haskell. Communications should be addressed to Mr. Chas. E. Stokes, 1123 East 12th street, Kansas City, Mo. Mrs. Stokes is C. L. S. C. Representative.

BEATRICE, NEBRASKA

The feature of the Assembly at Beatrice was the C. L. S. C. work carried on by the circle at the Chautauqua. The session was from June 21-July 3, and daily meetings were held with addresses and discussion. The Beatrice Circle issued a neat and attractive program for the C. L. S. C. members, listing the addresses, papers, and music selections which were given at the Round Table hours. On Recognition Day, June 29, formal recognition was given by Dr. Davidson, an address was made by the Rev. Edwin Booth, Jr., and diplomas were presented by the Rev. J. A. Lowe. From fifty to

sixty graduates and readers constituted the procession and three graduates received diplomas. The Round Tables were conducted by Mrs. A. Hardy, and a number of circle readers were enlisted for the ensuing year. Among the speakers upon the program were, in addition to those mentioned: Mrs. A. H. Felch, Mrs. J. S. McCleery, Miss Julia Fuller, Mrs. Mabel Fuller, Rev. J. H. Davis, Mrs. Hattie E. Mack, Mrs. William Steffan, Mrs. William Hemphill, Miss Emilie Hamm, Mrs. G. W. Warner, Mrs. F. C. LaSelle, Prof. E. A. McGlasson, Mrs. W. H. Robbins, Prof. C. A. Fulmer, Hon. J. H. Dobbs, Mrs. H. W. Ashby, and Mrs. J. A. Gage.

JEWISH CHAUTAUQUA, ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY

The tenth summer Assembly of the Jewish Chautauqua was held at Atlantic City, N. J., August 8-12. The three weeks' session held formerly was condensed into one week, three sessions per day being held instead of one. An anniversary address reviewing the work of ten years was delivered by the Chancellor and founder of the society, Rabbi Henry Berkowitz, of Philadelphia. An interesting innovation was made in calling together officially appointed delegates from Jewish Chautauqua Reading Circles in all parts of the United States. This society, under the direction of its President, George W. Ochs, now numbers more than fifteen hundred members in thirty-six states. An interesting development of the work is the Jewish Assembly in England. English meetings were held during August in connection with the summer extension work at the University of Cambridge. Large numbers of people were interested in the history and literature of the Jewish people. Features of the Assembly were: An address by Hon. Mayer Sulzberger upon "American Jewish History"; Bible Studies under Dr. Wm. Rosenau; Post-Biblical History by Dr. M. H. Harris; Hebrew, by Rabbi Gerson L. Levi; Teachers' Course by Miss Ella Jacobs, etc. It is the purpose of the society to seek a permanent home in some quiet place other than Atlantic City. Charles E. Fox is Secretary and Director. Address P. O. Box 825, Philadelphia.

NORTH DAKOTA CHAUTAUQUA

The fourteenth annual session of the North Dakota Chautauqua, which opened June 30, closing July 17, 1906, was the most prosperous of any in the history of the association.

The exercises on Recognition Day were elaborate and extensive, the principal feature being the laying of the "Hall of Philosophy" corner stone, the ceremony being unusually impressive. The history of the organization, copies of the yearly booklets, the address of the day delivered by Rev. E. E. Saunders, and other valuable papers were sealed within the corner stone. The largest graduating class was that of this session, seven in number, several alumni also being present. Throughout the session there was great enthusiasm in all C. L. S. C. departments, and as a consequence, new reading circles are being organized over the state, and a large number of readers is assured for the next Assembly.

The Round Table work was conducted by Miss Nellie S. Johnson, of Petersburg, N. D. A C. L. S. C. Union was organized with Miss Johnson as president; Mrs. Francis Dixon, vice-president; Rev. E. E. Saunders, secretary; Mrs. Luella W. Streator, treasurer; Miss Nellie E. Whittcomb, historian. The object of the union is to enlist all interested in Chautauqua for the advancement of C. L. S. C. work. An Alumni Association was also organized.

The strong features of the Assembly program were as follows:

Byron Troubadours, colored; United States Senator Burkett, of Nebraska, Alton Packard, D. W. Robertson's moving pictures, Indian Day, one thousand native Indians in original costumes and presenting a program of features representing wild Indian life, Elma B. Smith Co., Bishop J. C. Hartzell.

Contemplated improvements for 1907 include an electric light plant, additional water works, the parking of the water front, betterments in railway service, etc.

The Secretary of the Assembly is Edgar La Rue, Devils Lake, South Dakota.

KINGFISHER, OKLAHOMA

The Assembly of 1906 was ten days in length. Features of the program were: Rev. Thomas Green, D. D., Edward Amherst Ott, Rev. Matt. Hughes, D. D., Oxenham Moving Pictures, Amphion Male Quartet, readings by Miss Hutchinson, Athletic Exhibition by Lorimore and his boys. The Recognition Day speaker was the Rev. Thomas McClary. The enrollment for 1907 is not yet completed. Good interest was shown in the reading course. F. L. Boynton is Corresponding Secretary, and Spencer Sanders C. L. S. C. Representative.

MONONA LAKE ASSEMBLY, WISCONSIN

The Monona Lake Assembly held a profitable session of eleven days. Features of the program were: Bishop Hartzell, Opie Read, George R. Stuart, Governor Folk, Bob Taylor, Frederick Warde, Innes' Band, Gamble Concert Co. Bible work was conducted by Dr. Eaton and classes were held in Nature Study and Physical Culture. The Assembly for 1907 will open July 23, the length of the session not yet being determined. C. L. S. C. representative is Mrs. M. F. Hanchett, Madison, Wisconsin. James E. Moseley, Madison, is Secretary.

ALL THE YEAR at

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THE MAGAZINE OF SYSTEM IN READING

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FRANK CHAPIN BRAY,
Managing Editor

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The Great Dam, Assuan, Egypt

THE CHAUTAUQUAN

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NOV 15 1906
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

OF all the state elections of this autumn, the most interesting, sensational and "pregnant" is that of New York. In Pennsylvania bossism and machine rule constitute the issue; in Massachusetts and Wisconsin the contests are decidedly confused, but there is a general feeling that such questions as tariff revision, direct primary nominations, control of corporations, etc., are the questions before the people of those states. In New York an extraordinary series of developments has brought about an unpredecented situation.

In the last mayoralty campaign in Greater New York William Randolph Hearst, the newspaper editor and publisher, ran on an independent ticket for the office of city executive. The "regular" Democratic organization, Tammany, which had renominated Mayor McClellan, assailed him with extreme bitterness and violence. He was called demagogue, unscrupulous self-seeker, and what not. For his part, Mr. Hearst with his followers, branded Tammany as a nest of boodlers, blackmailers, and plunderers.

The outcome of the election was a startling surprise to many. Mr. Hearst had some 225,000 votes, while the Tammany nominee had but 3,000 more—on the face of the returns. It was generally believed that Mr. Hearst had been elected and "counted out" by fraud. At any rate, the Hearst faction was certain of this and asserted that prison stripes and prison cells were in store for the Tammany leaders.

As late as last March Tammany held a great meeting to denounce socialism and Hearstism—treating the two as synonymous—and reading Mr. Hearst and his followers out of the Democratic party once more and finally.

Yet in September the Democratic state convention of New York, with the aid and influence and strenuous work of Tammany, nominates Mr. Hearst for governor and adopts a platform which, while still anti-socialistic, is full of concessions to the Hearst sentiment. And it does this in spite of a prior nomination of Mr. Hearst by an independent or Hearst organization called the Independence League, and in spite of the "radical" platform of that league, which demanded public ownership and operation of all public utilities.

Charles E. Hughes Republican nominee for Governor of New York.

This seemingly paradoxical outcome has been variously explained, but the Hearst movement was so strong in the state at large, and the drift even in the Tammany ranks toward the Hearst candidacy was so pronounced that the "regular" organization had practically no alternative. Not to nominate Mr. Hearst was to make Republican success a foregone conclusion, since he would have run independently.

It is admitted by all candid observers that Mr. Hearst's remarkable rise in politics is the direct result of the insurance scandals and the abuses and arrogance of the public service corporations. The Hearst movement is essentially a protest against graft, oppression and monopoly, an expression of popular approval of stringent control of public service and other corporations and municipal ownership of public utilities.

The New York Republicans have recognized these facts by putting aside all ordinary candidates and nominating for Governor Charles E. Hughes, the able attorney who conducted the famous insurance investigations in New York and drafted the several insurance bills—now on the statute book as laws—designed to remedy the glaring evils then revealed. Mr. Hughes accepted the nomination without pledges or

"deals" and in his behalf it is urged that he is a resolute enemy of graft, corruption and dishonesty, and that, if elected, he will attack official and corporate abuses with as much energy and courage as the Hearst followers expect from their leader. The picturesque and stirring campaign is likely to have national effects and exert no small influence on the next presidential contest.

W. R. Hearst
Democratic nominee for Governor of New York.

Revolution and Intervention in Cuba

As late as the middle of August last the people of the United States were wholly unaware of the gravity of the popular conflict that was in progress in Cuba. They knew that the so-called Liberals were restive and dissatisfied with the government of the so-called Moderates; that President Palma was less popular than during his first term as executive and under constant attack for alleged acts of usurpation and tyranny; that the last presidential election (held in September, 1905) was asserted to have been fraudulent and outrageously unfair. But they did not expect an insurrection or revolution on a formidable scale. They thought the discontented elements would endure the rule of Palma and the party he led for the full term and endeavor to defeat them at the polls, in a legal and pacific manner, in 1910.

Apparently Cuban politics and American politics are two different things. The Liberals and other opponents of the Palma government took up arms and declared war on it in the latter part of August. Events marched rapidly. The United States, entitled under the so-called Platt Amendment to the act of 1901 (in relation to Cuban independence) to

Assistant Secretary Bacon

Ex-President Palma

Secretary Taft

THE CHIEF FIGURES IN THE CUBAN AFFAIR

interfere and land troops in the island for the purpose of defending her either against foreign or domestic enemies, of preserving order and peace and protection of life and property, could not remain indifferent to such developments. The administration evinced a natural and deep interest in the situation, but was extremely reluctant to make any move. It decided to watch and wait.

The Cuban insurrection continued to grow. The Palma government was absolutely unequal to the task of suppressing it. Property was being destroyed, industry paralyzed, and the Cuban credit collapsed. The Moderates were desirous that the United States should intervene, but solely in their interest, or in the interest of the existing weak and impotent government. The insurgents and their Liberal sympathizers in the capital, Havana, also favored American intervention, but with a very different object. What they wanted was a new election and the inauguration of a government.

The Washington government felt that intervention for either purpose would be wrong and dishonorable. Accordingly, in September, Secretary Taft and Assistant-Secretary of State Bacon were sent by President Roosevelt to Cuba to

tender their aid as a peace arbitration commission to all parties and factions—to investigate the whole situation and work for a fair, honest compromise.

Certain newspapers, politicians and others had meantime raised the cry of "immediate annexation." Cuba, they said, had failed; she was unfit for independence; it was a blunder to give it to her, for "sentimental" reasons, in the first place, and the mistake must not be repeated. We should intervene, annex and make a state of her under our flag, was the proposal of these elements. But the great majority of the people were calm, sober and in favor of keeping faith with Cuba. They had confidence in the President and his agents in Cuba, and they believed that intervention would be resorted to only as a last and heroic measure, and that, even if resorted to, annexation would *not* be its actual or implied object.

The event has justified them. The Taft commission failed to effect a compromise. It labored for ten days, heard all sides, proposed several plans, but all in vain. It found no issues, no principles, at stake. The differences were personal. The hatred and mutual distrust and jealousy were too deep to permit of concessions and lasting peace. The Palma government objected to undue recognition of the "rebels" and resigned in anger and pique. It refused to accept any scheme involving new national and provincial elections.

These resignations of Palma, his ministers, and members of Congress left Cuba without a government—in a state of anarchy. The insurgents were in the field; leading cities were threatened; industry was at a standstill. Secretary Taft thereupon "intervened" under the Platt act. He proclaimed himself provisional military governor of Cuba, landed marines to maintain order and issued a remarkable proclamation. This document is so significant that we reproduce it in full:

"To the People of Cuba: The failure of congress to act on the irrevocable resignation of the president of the republic of Cuba or to elect a successor leaves the country without a government at a time when great disorder prevails and requires that, pursuant to the request of Mr. Palma, the necessary steps be taken in the name and by the authority of the president of the United States to restore order and protect life and property in the island of

Cuba and the islands and keys adjacent thereto and for this purpose to establish therein a provisional government.

"The provisional government hereby established will be maintained only long enough to restore order, peace and public confidence by direction of and in the name of the president of the United States, and then to hold such elections as may be necessary to determine on those persons upon whom the permanent government of the republic should be devolved. In so far as is consistent with the nature of the provisional government established under the authority of the United States, this will be a Cuban government, conforming with the constitution of Cuba. The Cuban flag will be hoisted as usual over the government buildings of the island; all the executive departments, and provincial and municipal governments, including that of the city of Havana, will continue to be administered as under the Cuban Republic; the courts will continue to administer justice, and all the laws not in their nature inapplicable by reason of the temporary and emergent character of the government, will be in force.

John Burns English labor leader. Given $1,000,000 for relief of unemployed.

"President Roosevelt has been most anxious to bring about peace under the constitutional government of Cuba, and he made every endeavor to avoid the present step. Longer delay, however, would be dangerous in view of the resignation of the cabinet. Until further notice the heads of the departments of the central government will report to me for instructions, including General Alexandro Rodriguez, in command of the rural guards and other regular government forces, and General Carlos Roloff, treasurer of Cuba.

"Until further notice the civil governors and alcaldes will also report to me for instructions.

"I ask all citizens and residents of Cuba to assist me in the work of restoring order, tranquility and public confidence."

It is impossible to mistake the meaning of this proclamation. It is an inspiring pledge of good faith with Cuba. It is worthy of the United States. It has offended the "immediate annexation" element, but gratified every lover of justice and national morality.

What the distant future will bring forth no one knows. "Destiny" will take care of itself; morality and duty are plain, and the United States has acted, so far, in complete accordance with morality and duty with regard to Cuba.

The following chronological review of the career of "Cuba Libre" will be of interest to readers:

December 10, 1898—Relinquished by Spain through the signing of the treaty of Paris after having been continuously in possession of that country since the discovery of the island.

November 5, 1900—Convention meets to decide upon a constitution for the new republic.

February 21, 1901—Constitution is adopted and the United States Congress passes a law authorizing the President of the United States to make over the island to its people.

June 21, 1901—Cuba accepts the conditions laid down by the Congress of the United States.

February 24, 1902—President Tomas Estrada Palma is elected President of Cuba.

May 20, 1902—Control of the Island of Cuba is formally transferred to the new government.

December 27, 1903—Relations between Cuba and the United States made closer through the operation of the reciprocal commercial convention.

September 29, 1906—Secretary Taft declares armed intervention by the United States in Cuba, as an absence of a government had been created.

The Politics of American and British Labor

We have discussed the significance of the decision of the organized workmen of the United States to enter politics as an independent and distinct factor. Since the leaders of American unionism have merely followed their British and Australian brethren, it is interesting to glance at the respective programs and demands of the great labor federations of these countries.

The American unions entered politics chiefly because they had failed to secure:

A strong eight-hour law applicable not only to government establishments and to contractors doing "public work" directly for the government, but to all contractors doing work for the government, so far as that work was concerned.

An anti-injunction law legalizing peaceable picketing and boycotting, sympathetic strikes under any agreement by any number of men or of unions, and providing that the conspiracy laws shall not be held to apply to any peaceable labor controversy.

The British trade unionists have a more radical and more comprehensive program than this. At the recent thirty-ninth Trade Union Congress held at Liverpool, a congress attended by about 500 delegates and representing over

1,500,000 organized workingmen (and some women) resolutions were adopted favoring and urging legislation on the following subjects:

An eight-hour law for all workmen, or, to begin with, for the miners of Great Britain.

Compulsory state insurance against industrial accidents, to supplement the "universal" accident compensation law enacted several years ago.

Municipal banking and multiplication of public utilities on a larger scale than in the past.

Municipal housing of the poor.

Nationalization of the railways, telephones and other public service.

More stringent factory regulation.

Legalization of peaceful "picketing" and boycotting and of the calling of sympathetic strikes for any purpose whatever.

James S. Harlan
New member of Inter-State Commerce Commission.

The British workmen do not expect to realize the whole of this program in the near future, but they intend to press those features of it which they deem vital and of immediate practicability. And they have fifty-three members of parliament to work in their behalf in all legitimate political and legislative ways. These members are independent and vote "for measures, not men," not hesitating to vote against the Liberal government that is, in the main, friendly to labor, democratic and "radical." The unions are in politics "to stay," to use a current phrase, and they expect to increase their parliamentary representation at every general election.

In Australia the labor party is steadily gaining strength and alike in federal and state politics "industrial" and social legislation, including public ownership, restriction of private property in land, development of state insurance and old-age pension systems, and control of trusts, is as prominent as ever. An anti-trust act is before the Australian Parliament

which is designed to prevent the importation of products controlled by foreign trusts and the sale of such products in unfair competition with domestic products.

In New Zealand, since the death of Premier Seddon, there has been a disposition on the part of the Labor party to sever its tacit alliance with the government and become more aggressive and more exacting. There is dissatisfaction with the Court of Arbitration and a demand for revision of the industrial conciliation and arbitration act. The general attitude of the organized labor of New Zealand may be judged by the platform adopted at a recent conference of the trades' councils, which embraces these planks:

Nationalization of land and of mineral wealth.

Nationalization of marine, coastal and intercolonial services.

Government State clothing and boot factories, flour, and woolen mills, bakeries, ironworks, and shipbuilding yards.

Nationalization of kauri gum industry.

Rating on unimproved values.

Stoppage of sales of crown lands, and revaluation of crown lands held on lease.

Everywhere labor is asserting its political power and presenting proposals that tend toward Socialism or state control and regulation of wealth distribution.

Government Railroads as an Issue

In declaring himself in favor of government acquisition, ownership and operation of the railways—the "trunk" lines by the federal government, the local lines by the respective states—William J. Bryan did not intend to "commit" the Democratic party to that proposition. The view was expressed as one entirely personal, the result of observation in Europe. Mr. Bryan was aware that many of the leading Democrats were entirely opposed to government ownership of the railways; he did not even intimate that he would use his influence to obtain the insertion of a government railroad plank by the formers of the next national Democratic plat-

her administration, finance, jurisprudence, and foreign relations.

The new reform decrees alluded to are the outgrowth of the commission that visited Europe and the United States early in the year and made inquiries into the educational systems, the political organizations and the administrative methods of the leading Western countries. They recognize that the laws of China are antiquated, and that most of her troubles and complications are due to the lack of proper co-operation between the government and the people. Accordingly, several commissions have been appointed to elaborate needed reforms, and the imperial decree vaguely adds that constitutional rule will be introduced as soon as the people have been educated to comprehend the new order of things.

Meantime correspondents report various signs of national awakening. There is for example, a movement to regain concessions held by foreigners after the manner in which the famous Hankow-Canton railway concession was regained by purchase from the American capitalists. It is said that all new enterprises in the way of public utilities are now being manned by Chinese themselves. Among other striking indications are mentioned the following: The establishment of hundreds of primary and secondary schools in the Chili province; the teaching of English in these schools; the order of the viceroy of Hupeh and Hunan provinces that the New Testament be taught in the schools; a decree making Sunday a legal holiday. In regard to Bible instruction a Shanghai correspondent recently gave these details:

The decree states that the permanence and high quality of Chinese civilization is due to the fact that the Confucian classics have been taught in China for more that two thousand years. But the viceroy admits that Western nations have some power which the Chinese do not possess.

He is sure that this is not due to any superiority of Westerners over the Chinese but to the fact that the Western nations have in their possession certain teachings which the Chinese have not yet mastered. He thinks this superiority is due to the Bible. In order to make the Chinese not only equal but superior to their Western competitors he orders the

New Testament taught with the Confucian classics among the 58,000,000 people over whom he rules.

China seems to be today where Japan was some twenty-five years ago. Whether her awakening will prove real and productive of far-reaching and substantial changes in national

Twisting the Lion's Tongue

Father Time (*closely examining small incision in tree-trunk*). "Who's been trying to cut this tree down?"

"Teddy Roosevelt (*in manner of young George Washington*). "Father, I kannot tel a li. I did it with my litl ax."

Father Time. "Ah, well! Boys will be boys."

—*From Punch.*

policy and administration, time will tell. The influence of Japan, direct and indirect, will make for progress—the rest will depend on the characteristics of the Chinese masses.

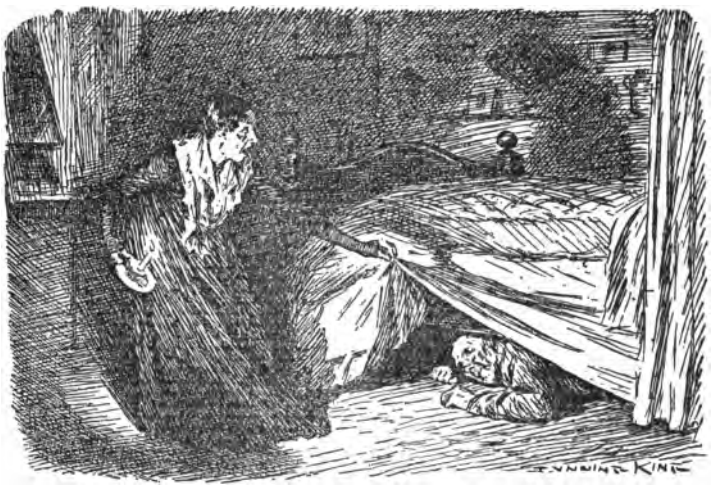
News Notes from Abroad

One must go to the South Seas to realize what this single Englishman [Cook] did for the fourth part of the world. Spoken tradition and reverence for chiefs are strong in the islands, and time is always an indefinite matter. They talk, in Samoa and Tahiti, and the Cook Group, and the Friendly Islands, of "Tuti" and his times, as though the great sailor had visited those seas but twenty years ago. Relics of his visits are presented in chiefly houses, like bones of saints in a Catholic church; tales of him are told by old men in the long, hot, moonlit nights, as one sits listening to the songs of the coral reef, under the dark eaves of pandanus thatch. It may be because of Cook, and it may be because the islanders admire the British type in general, but it is certain that the islands of the Pacific, if left to carry out their own wishes regardless of political consequence, would vote solid for British rule. English in the east, pigeon-English in the west, is still the *lingua franca* of the Pacific Ocean. Natives who speak French or German always seem to speak English too, and in some islands the owners find themselves obliged to learn the "yam-talk," bastard English, which seems to be the only foreign tongue that the lower class of native laborer can master. There is a certain amount of ill-feeling about this here and there, but it is hard to see how the Englishman is to blame.—*London Times.*

Sir John Gorst has been appointed Special Commissioner to represent the British Government at the New Zealand International Exhibition, which is to be opened at Christchurch on November 1.—*London Times.*

The seekers at Tobermory for Armada treasure on Tuesday came upon another piece of silver plate, an exact replica of a salver recovered last Tuesday, which weighs fully two pounds and measures eleven inches in diameter. When the brownish coating was removed by hand, metal resembling pewter appeared, but after some slight polishing the pure silver was revealed.—*London Times.*

In England a committee has been organized for the purpose of erecting a monument to Livingstone in the heart of Africa, at Chitambo, east of the Bangweolo See, on the exact spot where the great discoverer breathed his last and where, as is reported, at the foot of a high tree his heart lies buried.—*The Nation.*



Miss Tabitha Spriggins, after many years of search at last finds the man she has looked for.—*From Punch.*

A correspondent in *The Spectator,* writing on the subject of bull-fighting, states that "several Popes have directed Bulls against this pastime."—*Punch.*

How unpleasant it will be for the Liberal gentlemen who have just been promoted to the House of Lords when they have to be abolished.—*Punch.*

CURIOUS TREATMENT OF A FAMOUS DEAN

"Dean Church.—The interior of Dean Church is being thoroughly cleaned and painted."—*West Cumberland Times.*

ANOTHER MOTTO FOR THE PACKERS

Omnia possumus omnes—We all can everything.—*Punch.*

THE DECADENCE OF SCOTCH HUMOR

"Parties wanted, with capital, to join practical man in the making of low yarns in the South of Scotland."—*Scotsman.*

By a stroke of the pen, President Roosevelt has brought about

an immense and much needed increase in the number of American comic writers.—*Punch.*

"FEAR NOT, TILL BIRNAM WOOD DO COME TO DUNSINANE"

"They then went on a short visit to Edinburg where they saw Windsor Castle and Stoke Pogis."—*Pittsburg Chronicle. (Quoted in Punch.)*

Miss Marie Corelli has written to the Press to explain that the scene of her new story is not laid in Devonshire but in Somersetshire. A rumor states that the news has thrown a pall of gloom over one of England's fairest counties, but does not specify which county.—*Punch.*

"My opinion is that in three years' time there will not be employment for more than three hundred veterinary surgeons. The remainder of the profession will have to follow the horses."—*An ex-President of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons.*

This is wilful encouragement of the grosser side of the meat-packing scandals. If you find a lancet in your sausage in 1909, you'll know what it means.—*Punch.*

It has long puzzled thoughtful persons to know why so many gentlemen are anxious to get into Parliament. Mr. Balfour, speaking at Dunbar, has now disclosed his reason for sitting as a member. "I have a weakness," he said, "for recreation uncombined with instruction."—*Punch.*

CLUBS AND THE MAN

["Nelson never succeeded in getting into a club. Today, however, he would belong to the Rag or United Service."—*Tribune.*]

Henry the Eighth never succeeded in getting into any of the well-known Clubs. Today, however, he would doubtless have been blackballed for the Bachelors.

Drake, had he lived, would have qualified for the Travelers. A similar remark applies to Columbus.

Beau Brummell might, in a lean year, have got into the National Liberal Club.

Wordsworth would, probably, have had aspirations in the direction of the Primrose Club; rather as a place of call on his way up to the Lakes than for any political purpose.

ThePrimrose, off St. James' Street,
Was just, for him, a place to eat,
And it was nothing more.

Charles the Second would have put up for the Playgoers.
—*Punch.*

The Dominion of Canada*

By Cecil F. Lavell

Professor of History in Trinity College; author of C. L. S. C. Book on "Italian Cities," etc.

IT is nearly four hundred years now since Cartier surveyed from the summit of Mount Royal the glorious expanse of forest and the mighty sweep of river that were part of an utter wilderness. The Pilgrim Fathers were yet unborn. Drake and Raleigh, Shakespeare and Spenser, John Smith and William Penn were names yet hidden in unturned pages of the book of Fate. Modern Europe was barely emerging from the Middle Ages, and the gallant sailor of St. Malo was himself one of those who were opening the world's dim eyes to broader visions and brighter light. It was not simply a wilderness to him, this grand valley of the St. Lawrence. It was the gateway of infinite possibilities, a new world to be won from Satan to Christ, from the dominion of painted savages to the proud lordship of France. But generations passed, and the patient, heroic Champlain, the fiery Frontenac, the indomitable La Salle, the gallant Montcalm, with their comrades built up a colony only to have it pass into the hands of the detested English. They were indeed attempting to create an anachronism. Feudalism even in Europe was in the last stages of decay when Champlain

*This is the last of a series on "Imperial England" in THE CHAUTAUQUAN. The complete list includes: Beginning of England's Sea Power, The Opening of the East, The Great Duel with France, September; Pioneers of Empire—Robert Clive, Cook and Phillip, David Livingstone, October; Dominion of Canada, The Road to the East, The Perils and Rewards of Empire, November.

landed at Quebec. To transplant it to the New World was as futile as to plant an aged, rotting oak in new soil with the hope of seeing it grow young again. The genius of Richelieu the pride of Louis XIV, the all-seeing brain of Colbert, the courage of generations of gallant Frenchmen exhausted themselves in the effort to achieve the impossible.

So with the defeat of Montcalm the task of taking their work and making it fruitful fell to the conquerors. The vast country over which Cartier saw floating in vision the lilies of France is dotted with the red ensign of England. The national songs of New France praise in liquid French an English king; descendants of Norman and Breton soldiers send up joyous rockets on the birthday of Victoria, and though the French of Quebec and the English of Ontario may at times rail and glower at one another yet they alike bear the burdens of their common country and alike rejoice in its promise for the future. The birthright of the countrymen of La Salle has passed to the countrymen of Pitt and Wolfe.

The discussions with which we are familiar as to the government of the conquered South African Republic would scarcely have troubled the world of 1760. But in any case the conditions of Canada had no resemblance to those in the Transvaal. New France was populated solely by Frenchmen and their families, conquered after a bitter and equal struggle. To grant such a province self-government would have been mere madness. And yet for England to adopt entirely and with a view to permanence the autocratic government and feudal forms of France would have been self-contradictory. So the question was settled as was to be expected with a race not given to the prolonged contemplation of a puzzling problem, in a rough-and-ready provisional fashion. The country was divided into three districts with headquarters at Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal. These were administered by three generals after the well-known example set by Oliver Cromwell, with military officers scattered over the country to look after the details of government. But

practically, beyond a certain benevolent supervision, the duties of these officers were restricted to the preserving of order and the administration of criminal law. As a matter of fact things were done much as they had been done before the conquest. The church received its tithes. The landlords —the *seigneurs*—received their rents in kind and in service. And priests, *seigneurs*, and notables constituted as before the actual heads of the people.

For a provisional arrangement this worked admirably. If the people had no rights beyond the moral right of fair treatment they had no more than that under the old régime. The misgovernment of their last Intendant, the infamous Bigot, might well make them contrast the justice and business-like orderliness of the new rule with the confusion and the oppression of the war days, and for a time there was contentment. But the inevitable happened. Immigrants from the British Islands drifted across the Atlantic—"men of mean education, traders, mechanics, publicans, followers of the army," as Governor Murray contemptuously called them —who clamored at once for a share in the government. And the French themselves began to catch something of the spirit of their new flag and murmur for privileges of which they and their fathers had known nothing for generations. The more active minded among them realized that military government under the British flag and in America was an anomaly. The educated men of New France were not unaware of the ideas of Montesquieu, nor were they wholly out of touch with the currents of thought that were carrying the countrymen of Voltaire and Rousseau to the whirlpool of the Revolution. Vague theories and aspirations regarding individual liberty were quickened into practical life by the fortune of war that made them the political heirs of Simon de Montfort and Oliver Cromwell. And the citizens of Montreal and Quebec began to agitate for relief from the pressure of a better government than any the French race had enjoyed since the time of Colbert.

And the strange part of it is that at the bottom the

demand for a measure of self-government was based on a sound principle. The answer to the agitators that would point to the oppression and autocracy of the old régime was no answer. The French flag had given place to the English. A line of argument that befitted the government of Louis XV could not be used without shame even by the administration of Lord North. For the conquerors to adopt the political ideals of the conquered would have been an absurdity—treason to the best traditions of the race. Sooner or later, if England remained England, the soldiers of Montcalm and their sons would have to be allowed a share in the government of their country such as Montcalm himself would never have given them. But such a principle by no means appeared in tangible shape before the minds of English statesmen. Englishmen only consent to theorize about politics long after their practical sense of what is worth while and what is possible has enabled them to hammer and blunder and hew through a problem to a triumphant serenity. Our notion of the place of Magna Charta in English history would have greatly bewildered any of the stalwart barons who saw King John sign it at Runnymede. And our interpretation of English liberty would have been shocking enough to George III. But the fact remains that without any clearly formed principle to justify them, the advisers of the very king who drove the American colonies into revolt took steps in Canada which meant concessions at once, and in time representative self-government.

So in the fall of 1763, while the war with Pontiac was still shaking the newly conquered province, a royal proclamation established four new governments in America, one of which was Quebec. The governors were empowered to summon general assemblies and to make laws *with the consent of the representatives of the people.* The existing laws of England requiring the oath of supremacy and a declaration against transubstantiation made the proclamation really a dead letter, indeed, but the intention is obvious nevertheless. And the interest of it is not lessened by the fact

that it was issued only a year and a half before the Stamp Act, while George Grenville was First Minister of the Crown. No assembly, as a matter of fact, ever met, and government in Canada from 1763 to 1774 was actually conducted by a Governor-General (Murray, a man of high principles and ability) and an executive council chosen by him from the leading men of the colony. So that while during this time there was good government, yet no one could view the matter as being settled. The English-speaking residents, still few in number but steadily increasing, wanted English law and English judges and officials. Petitions were sent over to Westminster in both languages and with varying requests. And it was for the king and his advisers to determine whether this discontent was only the natural and temporary result of a difficult situation, or whether it was the sign of evils that could be remedied. In the latter event there lay some embarrassment in the fact that the demands of English and French Canadians were diametrically opposed. Neither the English in America nor the authorities at home cared yet to erect a representative assembly which could place authority in the hands of people only recently in arms against the country that now ruled them. Yet there was a certain absurdity and injustice in giving power to four hundred English immigrants and withholding it from the seventy thousand old inhabitants. Wise decision was not easy, and the men in authority at Westminster in 1774 were assuredly none too wise. But guided by the advice of at least some well-informed men, and impelled to some action by the necessity of preserving peace in Canada during the rising tempest in the English colonies further south, the government of Lord North at last passed the Quebec Act.

Important and interesting as this famous Act of 1774 is, it strikes one now chiefly as a device for shelving a problem too intricate to be easily solved. Lord North and Wedderburn were scarcely the men, and the year after the Boston Tea Party was scarcely the time for a really statesmanlike colonial measure. At all costs a rising in Canada

must be prevented from interfering with the curative measures that were being thoughtfully devised by a paternal government for the correction of the ills of Massachusetts. And it so happened that the very thing that would best please the seventy or eighty thousand French people of Canada could be eloquently pointed to as an act of signal magnanimity. Thousands of the earnest, justice loving people of England who were then as now the real backbone of the nation were watching with sorrow and misgiving the shameful conflicts of the House of Commons with Wilkes, and were trying in troubled perplexity to find out the reasons for the lamentable state of affairs in America. These might surely be placated by the generous spectacle of a conquered people being freely left with their language, their religion and their institutions, while the power of the Crown was amply safeguarded by the retention of all rights of government. But unfortunately the tribunes of the people and the greatest men in the British Parliament—Chatham, Barré, Burke, and their like—were all against the act, and if it was scarcely the "cruel and odious measure" that Chatham called it, yet little inclination was displayed to pay reverence to that most contemptible of cabinets as a group of philanthropists. For in establishing French civil law and making no provision whatever for self-government it betrayed entire blindness to the possibility of future English immigration into the glorious valley and the vast country beyond. It not only handed over the English who were already settled in New France to French law, but extended the boundaries of Quebec to the Ohio and the Mississippi on the one hand and the Hudson's Bay Territory on the other. And it made permanent the very things that stood in the way of the healthy development of Canada as a British colony,—the French language, French law, and French institutions. That is to say, it was an act passed for immediate results. It assumed that conditions in Canada were static. It ignored the fact that the future of America was to be in English hands, not French, and that all arrangement for the future should as-

sume as a certainty the expansion and the dominion of the race that had conquered in the great struggle. We need not blame the government of North for not foreseeing that which to us is simple history. But prescience, insight, permanence, ability to guide a nation's councils in harmony with great lines of advance,—these are criteria of statesmanship, and judged by such standards the Quebec Act is a monument of unscrupulous politics and blind folly.

Nevertheless it did conciliate the French Canadians and when the forces of Arnold and Montgomery invaded Canada the sons of those who had defended Quebec against the troops of England now fought as valiantly against the army of the Continental Congress. So Canada remained outside the Union, and the flag of England still flew on the heights of Quebec when the treaty was made by which the humiliated mother country acknowledged her revolted colonies to be free and independent states. But that war materially affected the fortunes of Canada. Tens of thousands of loyalists crossed the line to keep their British citizenship. New Brunswick and Ontario came into existence. And one of the first and most obvious obligations of England to the sons who have sacrificed their all for her, was to give them the full rights of the citizenship which they had so greatly valued. Only Ontario, of the country newly settled by the refugees, was included in Canada, and as soon as possible the unnatural situation by which thousands of staunch settlers of British race were governed by French law and an autocratic government was remedied. In 1791 the Constitutional Act, as it is called, replaced the Quebec Act. Canada was divided by the line of the Ottawa River. The lower province was left with the French law and customs. But Upper Canada was made wholly English, and since in this English province a representative assembly could not in reason or justice be withheld, the government of Pitt thought it best to grant the same favor to Quebec. So part of the evil of the Act of 1774 was undone. West of the Ottawa Canada was to be English, and government by a

power that left out of consideration the voice of the people was a thing of the past.

It is an often-quoted remark that Britain's success with her colonies in the last hundred years has been in great measure due to the "lesson" taught her by the American Revolution. This is of course by no means wholly untrue. It was of immense importance that the destructive policy of George III should receive a death blow. But to suppose that the American Revolution taught the English people the lesson of colonial self-government is a mistake that could only spring from our cheerful readiness to manufacture large and impressive generalizations without facts. The American Revolution did, no doubt, end the reign of the theory that colonies existed for the benefit of the mother country. But thoughtful Englishmen who might have admitted this in 1790 might have suggested and did suggest as a corollary that it was therefore scarcely worth while for their country to trouble about colonies at all. Much actual money and energy had been spent by Englishmen in the founding—not of all the colonies, doubtless, but of many of them. Infinitely more had been spent in their defense against France. The contribution of the mother island towards the conquest of New France had greatly exceeded the grudging appropriations of the colonies. And now, an Englishman might say, even granting that North and George III were wrong, was it not a lamentable thing that twenty years after the fall of Quebec the colonies should rise in fierce revolt over a grievance no whit worse than was suffered by some of the greatest of English cities? At any rate was it not a thing that should cool the enthusiasm of any Englishman who might wish to tax himself and his fellow countrymen to defend a colony over seas,—a colony that might tomorrow become an enemy Was it not better to do things in the Greek way,—let colonies form spontaneously, and let them be independent from the beginning? Questions most natural, surely, still asked often by those who are called "Little Englanders," eloquently asked too by men like Mr. Goldwin Smith, sur-

vivals of the great Liberal school of English thinkers and statesmen, who by their very indifference to empire did so much to make Greater Britain possible.

One other lesson was taught by the American Revolution to observers of a less liberal temperament, viz., the danger of giving a colony too much control over its own affairs. And it is this lesson, not the other, which is most evident in British colonial policy for two generations after 1783. The French Revolution, with its hysteria and the whirlwind of war that followed it, came hard upon the Revolution in America, and the result was the reverse of an increase of warmth in the British attitude to democracy. England had developed during many centuries her own type of liberty, and it was as a matter of fact nearing the culmination to which Grey and Russell, Disraeli and Gladstone brought it during the nineteenth century. But it was a type that relied for its strength and permanence not on high-sounding phrases or declarations of the rights of man, but on the cautious, conservative, progressive working out of specific points, the removal of one after another obstacle that stood in the way of free national development, the practical struggle towards a practical and fruitful freedom. "The Rights of Englishmen" meant a distinct thing to many men who would have failed to make head or tail of Rousseau and would have spurned with contempt the "Rights of Man." Now this practical liberty of England, shocked by the wild utterances and the terrible excesses of the French Revolution, underwent a distinct reaction after 1793. The progress of the island towards complete government by the people was delayed thirty years. And this must partly explain the slowness of England in recognizing the inevitable and completing the Constitutional Act of 1791 by the gift of responsible government.

To sum up then, after the American Revolution there were two characteristic views of colonial policy in England,—one, that colonies were not worth while, that they should be treated simply with courtesy, and that their way should be pointed towards independence as far as might be consistent

with the maintenance of good feeling. The other, that colonies might or might not be worth while, but that since they at any rate existed and since they could not be dropped without loss of prestige, it was at least advisable to guide them with a tight rein and see that they did not follow the example of Massachusetts and Virginia. These two divergent views alternately and in varying strength dominated the British attitude towards the colonies until 1840, if not for some time longer. Then gradually, hesitatingly and vaguely grew the idea which at last took shape in the inspiring phrases —the "expansion of England" and "Greater Britain."

At the risk of being tedious we must make clear the progress from the *representative* government granted in 1791 to the *responsible* government which became fact soon after 1840. An assembly which has a right to make laws and control taxation is doubtless bound *ultimately* to control the administration unless it is restrained by a written constitution or by a higher power. In both Upper and Lower Canada after 1791 the English Crown appointed the governor, and the governor selected his advisers. The whole matter of the administration was thus removed from the competence of the Assembly. Given freedom of debate, power to make laws and levy taxes, an individualism as sturdy as that of seventeenth century England, and *no control of the executive whatever*, and we have abundant material for friction. It came in full measure, intensified in Quebec by racial antagonism, but bitter increasingly even in the English province, where an able, hot-headed, hard-hating, uncompromising zealot for liberty, William Lyon Mackenzie, led the forces of reform. At Toronto, the capital of Upper Canada, a group of prominent men of aristocratic tendencies became so invariably the advisers and informants of each new governor that they were not undeservedly considered a practical oligarchy, and were stigmatized by the Reformers as the "Family Compact." This borrowing of the name of the famous *Pacte de Famille* of 1733 is no more of a strain than was involved in the application of the epithet of "Thirty

Tyrants" to a group of rival chieftains in a confused period of the Roman Empire. It simply means that an angry invective caught the fancy of a political party without analysis, and remains fixed now, not without a certain picturesque effectiveness, in the story of Canadian liberty. But invectives, resolutions of censure, fierce editorials, even threats to stop the granting of supplies, were helpless against the stubbornness of governors, the skill and watchfulness of the "Family Compact," and the indifference of the home government. Then at last the fierce temper of Mackenzie cast aside all restraint. With a handful of associates as reckless as himself he rose in armed rebellion. A French leader, Papineau, with even more reason, led a similar rising in Quebec. Only prompt action on the part of a group of able and clear-headed loyalists prevented Toronto from falling into the hands of the rebels, and bubble as it seems to one looking back, it was for a time a serious enough affair.

Now, seventy years later, this rebellion of 1837 has importance simply because of its effect on the government at home and because it ended an impossible situation. Seldom has so complete a fiasco accomplished so much. But that it bore fruit at all was due less to Mackenzie than to the change in the temper and point of view of the English people. England was no longer the England of 1776 or even of 1791. The great reforming decade of the thirties was nearing its close. The reactionary effect of the French Revolutionary era had spent its force. Catholics and Protestant Dissenters alike had been relieved of their disabilities; Parliament had been reformed; slavery had been abolished; industrial evils were being investigated and remedied; and in a few years Bright and Cobden were to begin their triumphant crusade against the Corn Laws. In the very year of the rebellion the great Queen ascended the throne whose name is associated both with the completion of British democracy and with the tightening of the bonds of empire. So it was at a propitious moment after all that the hot-headed reformer rushed to arms, proved his impotence,

and turned away angry and disappointed to exile. For the rebellion, if it did nothing else, called attention imperatively to the fact *that there was trouble.* It was a crisis whose settlement determined the future of the Empire. Instead of sending to Canada more troops and indignant mandates re-regarding punishment and repression, the British government sent out one of its wisest members—the Earl of Durham—clothed with complete power to examine, conciliate, and report. He did so, and the resultant report is the modern classic of colonial government. We need not here discuss it in detail. The essential points of importance are the recommendations for the union of two provinces, and for the practical end of the separation between legislative and executive. Quebec, associated with her sister province on equal terms, could no longer protest against alien rule. And though it might take some years to fully adjust the machinery of responsible government, yet the Act of Union (1840) was barely formed and understood before governors and representatives of the people had learned harmony, and Cabinet government in Canada went on thereafter as smoothly as in England.

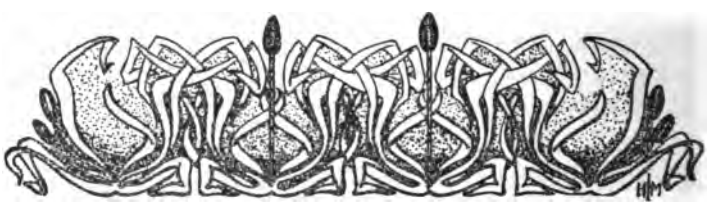
In varying form the same story in essentials might be told of colony after colony. Those who accuse the mother country of slowness and blindness might just as reasonably pour contempt on Europe for not discovering America a century before Columbus, or rail at Franklin for failing to adapt electricity to our modern uses in the telegraph and trolley-car. We self-satisfied moderns forget how easy it is to be wise after the event, how the problem was one of which no people had ever attained a satisfactory solution, and how little strange it is that it should be only after the groping and experimenting, the doubtful striving of many years that the making of a world-wide empire, loyal, free and healthy, should be achieved by the English race. We may blame this or that statesman for this or that mistake. In no other way can we reap fruit from the experiments of the past. But at bottom the marvel is not that mistakes were

made, but that while England was still weary after her gigantic war with France, while she was still adjusting herself to the changes of the Industrial Revolution, while she was anxiously mending the flaws in the delicate machinery of her own constitution, she should at last solve ideally the problem of colonial government.

For as far as we can see now the solution is ideal. Those who prophesied that the gift of responsible government to Canada—unavoidable and on the whole praiseworthy as it might be—would mean independence, have seen the tie of sentiment prove stronger than any device of law framed by Roman, Frank or Englishman. Canada, notwithstanding the overshadowing presence of the great Republic to the south, has steadily grown and expanded until she reaches in one line of dominion from Halifax and Quebec to Vancouver. As Ontario outstripped Quebec, so that the French province became a hindrance to the restless growth of English Canada, a way was found of leaving Lower Canada her autonomy while still removing any possibility of deadlock. The British North America Act* of 1867 created the Dominion as we know it. One by one the existing provinces and those formed in the forty years since confederation, were admitted into the Union,—Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, British Columbia, and recently Saskatchewan and Alberta. A great railroad—the Canadian Pacific—was built to connect east and west. Under the tactful guidance of the greatest of colonial statesmen, the adored chieftain of the Conservative Party in Canada, Sir John Macdonald, the Dominion was gradually welded into a nation. And now Australia has followed her example, with the certainty that before long British South Africa will be as completely a self-governing commonwealth as are the two older colonies in America and the South Seas. Yet if an eighteenth century statesman could see all this the strangest phenomenon to him

*This Act is practically the Canadian Constitution. It was drawn up by Canadian statesmen and then passed by the British Parliament.

would not be the growth of the great colonies but their loyalty. They are nations within a nation. Held within the empire by no compulsion, paying no tax even for the navy that protects their commerce, free to levy tariffs against the mother country herself, the colonies are members of a free confederacy, each one filled with pride and hope in her own future, and yet each turning with loyalty and reverence to the island home of their race. The flag of England means to the Canadian, the Australian, the New Zealander, exactly what it does to the Londoner or the Yorkshireman. No race tradition has been broken. England has simply *expanded* and the British dominions beyond seas have come to be a greater Britain whose future is beyond the power of man to dream.

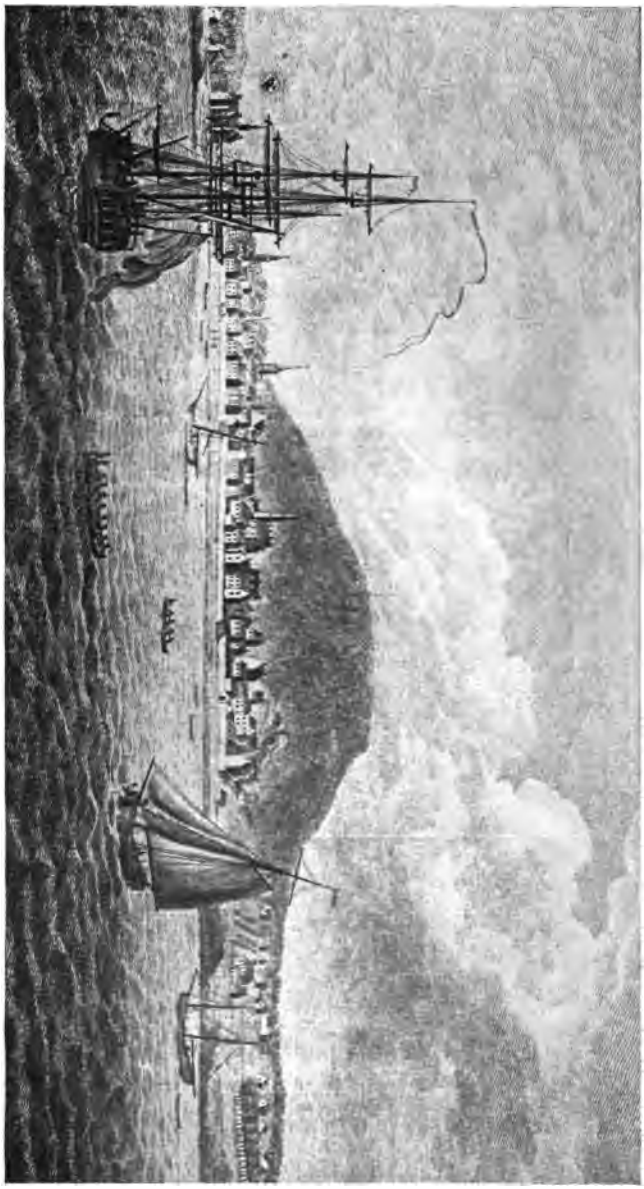


The Road to the East: Egypt

IT is such a delightfully simple view of history to make it logical, harmonious and consistent that one is tempted at times to wish that facts were less uncompromising. Feudalism used to be infinitely easier to understand when we could view it simply as a social pyramid than it is now. The development of the Roman Catholic church as stated by an Orangeman on the 12th of July is far simpler than the bewildering details of the annals and contemporary records would lead us to suppose. The theory that each nation has its infancy, its maturity, and its decay is so readily grasped by even the least discerning minds, has such a fascinating appearance of being at once luminous and profound, that even to question it provokes irritation. And similarly the creation of an empire such as those of Rome, Russia, or Great Britain has such an obvious analogy in its steady growth and its intricate adjustment of parts to the advance of a glacier, on the one hand, or the construction of a gigantic piece of mechanism on the other, that these figures of speech are accepted with little question as final and conclusive accounts of the phenomena of expansion. So perhaps we have been unwittingly causing doubt and a certain attitude of resentment by so constantly dwelling on the elements of the unforeseen, the accidental, the personal in British expansion. Imperialism as a policy, whether we favor it or not, has come to seem so ridiculously clear and simple to us that our mental processes are, perhaps, thrown out of gear by the needless introduction of the disturbing details. For, to be quite frank with ourselves, our conception of the thing itself has often been built out of words and ideas rather than out of a cold look directly at the facts. Especially and lamentably has this been true, it may be, of South Africa. It is scarcely less applicable to Egypt. But "far more mistakes," says Matthew Arnold, "come from want of fresh knowledge than from want of correct reasoning; and therefore, letters meet a greater want in us than

does logic." So let us look for a moment at one of the most instructive stories in the whole field of British expansion, the making and holding of an armed road to the East.

If we ask the question *why* England holds Gibraltar, Malta, the Suez Canal, Perim, and Aden, the answer will be immediate and obvious. Take away her empire in the East, and none of these would be worth keeping for another day. The growth of Australia has indeed added another reason for an armed highway to the argument which would have been potent enough with India alone. But put all of Britain's eastern possessions together, Indian and Pacific, and they supply the reason for every fortress on the long road between the Channel and Bombay. More than this, they account for Britain's interest in the Ottoman Empire and her watchful hostility to Russia. So to put the matter briefly and to get our thesis clearly before us, we may say that Clive's defense of Arcot—the first step towards the building of the Indian Empire—held locked up in one fateful achievement not only all that is meant by British India, but the control of the Mediterranean, the Eastern Question, and the Egyptian Question. And yet this seems inconsistent, surely. A moment ago we were scorning iron-bound generalizations about expansion, and now we seem to look upon whole pages in the book of fate as lying bound up implicitly in the one deed of one man. Doubtless we are sometimes inconsistent enough. And yet it will be remembered that our warning was not against the effort to deduce from our facts broad statements of law and tendencies: that would be to scorn any philosophic study of the past; but against any attempt to build a philosophy of history on the hypothesis that man is consistent, and that accurate *logic* may be substituted for accurate *data,* that those who built the empire, those who fought and planned and toiled and suffered in India and Australia or the home island, saw and understood in one-twentieth part the consequences



View of Montreal. From an Old Engraving.

Kingston, Ontario, From Fort Henry

Valley of the Ten Peaks, Alberta, Canada

Lake Ontario at Kingston, Ontario

Mts. Fox and Dawson and the Donkin Glacier of the Selkirk Mountains, Canada

Dufferin Terrace, the Citadel, and Chateau Frontenac, Quebec

Castle Mountain from Bow River, Rocky Mountains, Canada

The Falls of Montmorenci below Quebec

Lake Louise Chalet on line of Canadian Pacific Railway

Chateau Frontenac, Quebec, modern Hotel Built on the Site Formerly Occupied by Residence of Governors of Canada

The Citadel, Quebec

Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario

Herd of Cattle on Experimental Farm in Assiniboia, Canada

The Second Cataract of the Nile

Reaping Wheat in Assiniboia, Canada

The Citadel of Cairo, Egypt

The Taj Mahal from the Jumna River, India

A Canadian Wheat Field

The Hall of Private Audience, Delhi Fort, India

University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada

George Street, Sydney, Australia

Town Hall, Sydney, Australia

Table Mountain and Cape Town, South Africa

Copyright, 1906, by Keystone View Company.
Mouth of the Suez Canal, Suez, Egypt

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Vestibule of Nektanebos Flooded by the Assuan Dam, Philae, Egypt

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On the Road to Amurnath, Cashmere, India

of their own deeds. We may see that the capture of Arcot was the first step in a tremendous series of events which have in our eyes the unity and coherence of a systematic structure. Clive did not dream that it meant even the conquest of one corner of India. We are but unprofitable students if we do not try to see life as a whole, if we do not keep in mind the first scene of the first act as we approach the crisis of the drama. But we miss the key to it all if we ascribe to the actors the planning of the vast creation that they, all unwittingly, helped to build.

Now to make still clearer to ourselves this so often forgotten truism, the blind helplessness of individuals in the grip of complex forces, and the other equally important and less forgotten truism that with the former makes a paradox to be pondered over, the power of one man to turn a lever that will determine for ages to come the destiny of nations, let us consider the story of England's relation to Egypt.

Between England and Canada there is no road but the vast highway of the sea, and of that highway there is no control except by a great navy. But while the road to India would also lie practically defenseless without a navy, yet there is a material point of difference. Even the most hurried glance at the map will show us point after point where naval power might be powerfully aided or largely nullified by the possession or non-possession of a small area of land. At the straits of Gibraltar, at the point where the Mediterranean narrows between Sicily and Cape Bon, at either extremity of the Red Sea, a rival to the power of Great Britain might endanger at any moment that free communication with her eastern possessions which she rightly holds to be of such enormous importance. When Gibraltar was taken in 1704 this was by no means understood. The Rock was held for a hundred years as little more than a trophy, and great statesmen denounced its retention from Spain as unworthy of a magnanimous people. But the extension of Britain's interests in the East in the latter half of the eight-

eenth century clarified her vision somewhat, as it certainly did that of her enemies. Napoleon's stroke at Egypt in 1798 was evidence that he at least saw the possibility of striking at India by severing the chain, as yet unguarded except by the fleet of Nelson, which connected the British Islands with the Arabian Sea. And in 1801-3 England retained Malta chiefly because her surrender of the islands would have meant their occupation by Napoleon. So as the importance of the Mediterranean highway dawned by degrees on the statesmen of England the nineteenth century saw a gradual tightening of grip on Gibraltar and Malta, an increased interest in everything concerned with Constantinople, and a growing anxiety regarding Egypt. The southern entrance to the Red Sea could be and was secured in time by the occupation of the little island of Perim. But Egypt was no mere fortress. Egypt was a country of fame exceeding that of most countries in the world, of wealth, and—in the nineteenth century, thanks to Mehemet Ali—of some energy and power. She was a recognized province of an empire obviously declining, indeed, and little able to preserve order, and yet not so dead that it could with decency be dismembered. Here, then, was the point on the whole road to the East that promised most embarrassment.

In the fullness of time this embarrassment took shape in the form of a distinct dilemma. A French engineer backed by French capital achieved that which English experts and public engineering opinion in the world at large had pronounced impossible. In 1864 the Suez Canal was begun. In November, 1869, it was opened in the presence of the Emperor and Empress of the French and representatives from every power in the commercial world, and England's old rival in India, flushed with a just pride in the courage and skill of De Lesseps, seemed installed as the patron and guardian of this gateway to the East. It was a gateway infinitely more valuable to England than to France, but its possession was none the less welcome to the proud nation whose triumphs over its island neighbor had been so

few since the days of Montcalm or even since Louis XIV. England had had her opportunity, but the caution which so often has been her safety had this time betrayed her, and she apparently had to accept the consequences. Yet it is never safe in politics to accept a foregone conclusion. The emperor who so proudly presided over the ceremonies of Suez was twelve months later a broken and powerless exile. France, smitten and humiliated by the German invasion, by the Commune of '71, by the years of doubt that saw the launching of the Third Republic, was little able to watch over her interests in the East. At Cairo the spendthrift, irresponsible and picturesque Ismail, aided and encouraged by a joyous crew of officials who plundered and revelled at will in a carnival of prodigality, dazzled the astonished world by his splendor, his enterprise, his modern spirit, while he drove his helpless country full tilt toward an abyss of bankruptcy. All went cheerily until ready money began to fail. It became difficult to find capitalists who had a proper spirit of confidence in the Khedive's ability to pay his debts. And so it came about that the embarrassed prince bethought him of the market value of his shares in the Suez Canal, nearly half of which he had secured when the company was first organized. They were offered for sale. The great Hebrew, Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield, was Prime Minister of Great Britain, and before France had begun to realize what was going on England had remedied her mistake of a few years before and had become the controlling shareholder in the Suez Canal.

But already the consequences of Ismail's misgovernment were showing themselves. Egypt was approaching a financial crash that would carry disaster to every country in Europe and imperil law and order from Alexandria to the Soudan. Any catastrophe that would impair the efficiency of the canal in the least degree, while it mattered to Great Britain three times more than to all the rest of Europe put together, yet was a serious matter to the whole world. It was an affair that might very well be dealt with, if action

essentially impossible, a movement directed against the foreign influence that had prevailed since 1876, and inspired by the war-cry of "Egypt for the Egyptians." Throughout the year the mutinous spirit spread through the army, caught the heart of the people at large, and finally seized upon the administration and tied the hands of the Khedive. Egypt was on the brink of a revolution which would destroy the remnant of Turkish rule and emancipate Cairo wholly from foreign influence. But what of the International Courts and the *Caisse* and the Dual Control? Let it be remembered that Egypt had been under despotic foreign rule—Persian, Macedonian, Roman, Arab or Turkish—for over twenty-five hundred years. The native Egyptian was even less able to cope with the problems of government than the Turk, Armenian or Greek whom he hated. To see foreign influence expelled from Cairo would be to see the only skilled administrators—such as they were—in the country forced to leave, and Egypt left in the hands of native officials, some corrupt and some honest, but all incompetent and untrained, with a nerveless, spiritless, ignorant population to be fleeced by usurper and tax-gatherer. Things were unquestionably in far from ideal shape. The spirit of the rebellion was neither unnatural nor ignoble. Yet it was impossible for any one who had a particle of interest in the maintenance of a safe road to the East to look on without dismay and misgivings. If the whole affair had been taking place in Central Africa or in Argentina the case would have been entirely changed. The world looks on with half contemptuous silence and merely shrugs its shoulders when a revolution takes place in a South American republic. But the drunken riot to which we give only a glance and frown of disgust when we read of it in our newspaper causes quite another emotion when it occurs on our front porch or on the road by which our children go to school. The honest and perfectly sensible doctrine that salvation comes through struggle and suffering, that the passage from national disease to national health may lie through storm and anarchy becomes ominous and even

intolerable if its application lies near home. And events which Englishmen might have viewed with equanimity in some parts of the globe caused them the utmost anxiety in Egypt. France was almost equally disturbed. The great orator Gambetta moved heaven and earth to achieve an Anglo-French demonstration that would restore order. And even Gladstone, of all men the least inclined to favor unnecessary interference, at last made up his mind that if the Sultan would not move, and if the combined Powers would do nothing, England at any rate could not remain idle.

Not until he had tried every other solution of the difficulty did the great Liberal minister come to this conclusion. For he knew as many did not the gravity of the situation and the tremendous forces that would be set in motion if English troops had to crush the rebellion and bring order to Egypt. "Territorial questions," he wrote in 1877,* "are not to be disposed of by arbitrary limits; we cannot enjoy the luxury of taking Egyptian soil by pinches. We may seize an Aden or a Perim, where there is no already formed community of inhabitants, and circumscribe a tract at will. But our first site in Egypt, be it by larceny or be it by emption, will be the almost certain egg of a North African Empire, that will grow and grow until another Victoria and another Albert, titles of the lake-sources of the White Nile, come within our borders; and till we finally join hands across the equator with Natal and Cape Town, to say nothing of the Transvaal and the Orange River on the south, or of Abyssinia or Zanzibar to be swallowed by way of viaticum on our journey." Never was there a truer forecast. And it may be imagined how earnestly a statesman of such convictions would strain every nerve to avoid taking the first step in such a formidable progress. Gladstone was not distinguished by love of the Turks, but the intervention of the Sultan seemed to him an infinitely less dangerous thing than the intervention of England. But the Sultan, obstinately blind,

*_Nineteenth Century_, August, 1877; Gleanings of past years, IV, 357; Morley's Gladstone, III, chapter V.

refused either to intervene himself or coöperate in a conference of the Powers, deliberately conferring upon England the right of exclusive control in the affairs of Egypt. This Gladstone declined. A combined demonstration of the fleets of England and France was decided on, and this combined action of the two powers would, it was hoped, avert the worst consequences of interference. Then Gambetta fell from power. The government of France became doubtful and vacillating. And it was under these unpromising conditions, when no one was sure that the presence of the allied fleet in the harbor of Alexandria meant anything whatever, that the revolution approached the lurid stage. Definite danger menaced the Khedive and those who were loyal to him. On June 11, 1882, a mob at Alexandria murdered some fifty Europeans and severely wounded the British consul. Outbreaks and murders in other places seemed to indicate that the expected reign of anarchy had arrived. Egyptian soldiers were working night and day at the harbor fortifications and at batteries commanding the fleet. If action were contemplated at all—if the Dual Control meant anything—then now was certainly the moment for a definite blow. Sharp orders came at last from England, and early in July the British admiral advised those on shore that unless work on the batteries was discontinued he would be compelled to destroy them. On July 11 this was done, the French fleet having previously sailed away, leaving the responsibility of the action which both governments knew to be necessary to fall on England. That act of refusal ended the Dual Control. England had taken on herself the burden of restoring order in Egypt.

How that burden has been borne has been told in many books,* and it is perhaps scarcely worth while to press into a few words so great a story. How England promised, and

*Notably in Milner, England in Egypt; White, The Expansion of Egypt; Traill, England, Egypt and the Soudan, and Life of Lord Cromer; and in more readable, indeed fascinating, journalistic style, G. W. Stevens, Egypt in 1898, with its sequel, With Kitchener to Khartoum.

promised in good faith, to remain in Egypt only so long as was necessary to the restoration of order, how when rebellion had been crushed the problem of the Soudan began to cast its dark shadow along the valley of the Nile, how English aid and advisers never seemed to reach the point at which they could be safely withdrawn, and how at the same time Egyptian finance has been untangled, law and order have been made to prevail, and the great dams at Cairo and Assuan have increased the cultivable soil of the country beyond the dreams of the Pharaohs, all this makes an instructive lesson in what might be called constructive imperialism, and is worth much pondering. One of the greatest of empire building Englishmen, Evelyn Baring, Lord Cromer, has presided over the reconstruction of Egypt from the time of Arabi's revolt to the present day. And yet at this moment he is only minister plenipotentiary and consul-general at Cairo, with no apparent connection whatever with the government of Egypt. It is one of the cases in which the fact and the letter do not coincide, for all the world knows that no power in Egypt or Constantinople, almost, we may add, in England, would contradict the fiat of this steady, even-pulsed, cool-headed, keen-eyed Englishman who rules Egypt as absolutely as ever did Mehemet Ali or Cleopatra.

But if we must point elsewhere for the great record of English achievement in Egypt, we shall take a little time before we close to enforce in detail the dictum of Mr. Gladstone's that we quoted above. For these studies of ours are only an introduction at best, and it seems worth while to dwell more earnestly on certain fundamental lines of thought which we are not likely to stumble upon in books about either England or imperialism and which may yet help us to understand things a little more clearly. So let us turn to the first problem that Mr. Gladstone and his cabinet had to face in Egypt after Wolseley had finally broken Arabi's resistance at Tel-el-Kebir, and after Tewfik Pasha had seated himself securely once more on his shaken throne in a humbled and more or less relieved Cairo. Detailed questions of finance

and administration could be left to experts on the spot. But what of the Soudan?

In 1881, when Egypt was growing more and more restless each month, there arose a prophet at Dongola on the Nile whom the world came to know as El Mahdi. Seldom has a deliverer been more needed by a wretched people than by the Soudanese when El Mahdi began to preach his fiery gospel. Conquered in 1819 by the son of Mehemet Ali, the Soudan had been held more or less insecurely since by a government which was ambitious beyond its capacity, and which would better have sought to govern Egypt alone adequately than to control the desert region of the Upper Nile. "I look upon the possession of the Soudan," said Gladstone before the Khartoum tragedy had made the whole problem an English one, "as the calamity of Egypt. It has been a drain on her treasury, it has been a drain on her men. It is estimated that one hundred thousand Egyptians have laid down their lives in endeavoring to maintain that barren conquest." But far from abandoning the Soudan as the century went on the dominion of Egypt was extended in the days of Ismail over Darfur and Kordofan. Not that the Egyptians could fight better than the Soudanese but they had the advantage of a more advanced civilization, and the savage, divided, quarrelsome tribes were overcome one by one by the better disciplined, better led, though less warlike forces from the north. But to divide and conquer was an easy task compared with the steady, never-ending burden of government. The officials and soldiers sent from Cairo were practically licensed brigands who wrought their pleasure on the unhappy Soudanese unchecked by Pasha or Khedive. Only while Gordon was Governor-General of the Soudan (practically 1874-9) was there any real attempt to fulfil the duties of a sovereign power to its subjects, and six months absence of his strong hand and incorruptible soul left matters in as intolerable shape as ever. No wonder then that chiefs and warriors all over that vast area should turn with eagerness

towards the Prophet of Dongola, as he preached crusade and deliverance from the hated yoke of Egypt.

Up to the summer of 1882 England had no responsibility, no power and no knowledge of the Soudan. The personality of Gordon interested his countrymen, and they read with admiring pride the occasional newspaper jottings of his achievements in distant Africa as the good people of Pennsylvania or Texas might glow over the doings of some brave American adventurer in China or Morocco. But Alexandria and Tel-el-Kebir changed the situation. Without being nominally or actually in charge of the administration of Egypt, Baring in Cairo and Gladstone in London yet were in a position distantly resembling that of Clive in Bengal after Plassey, and before many weeks they had to determine the character of the advice they were prepared to give regarding the Soudan. Gladstone's feeling about its value to Egypt we have noted, and with this sentiment Baring and his associates agreed. But to make this feeling effective and authoritative in a country in which England had no legal power was a matter of some delicacy. The prime minister knew the abyss towards which the relentless current of events was drifting him, and he resisted it with all his strength, even in the face of a crisis. For the rapid disappearance of the old tribal divisions and the formation of a great empire under El Mahdi made the matter a pressing one. Instant offensive action was demanded if the Soudan was to be held, and such action, in spite of the recommendations of the English statesmen—and as yet they hesitated to do more than recommend—was decided on by the government of the Khedive. An able English officer in the Egyptian service, General Hicks, was commissioned to check the Mahdi and reconquer the Soudan. This Gladstone should doubtless have forbidden, but he still hoped that England might soon leave Egypt entirely alone, and desired not to assume any responsibility that might be thought to imply a claim of over-lordship. So Hicks went forth with his Egyptians, won some small successes, and finally on the fifth of November, 1883, was

destroyed with his entire force by the fierce-fighting followers of El Mahdi.

Action by England now was imperative if she was to assume, as was unavoidable, any responsibility whatever for the defence of Egypt. In January, 1884, Gordon himself wrote to Lord Granville that the Soudan ever was and ever would be a useless possession and that the only wise or even possible policy was that of evacuation. To this there was practically no disagreement. But at Khartoum and at points throughout the Soudan there were still to be considered the Egyptian garrisons, soon to be surrounded and annihilated by the fast rising tide of the Prophet's power. Should not at least some responsible officer be sent to Khartoum to carry through the evacuation and bring away the garrisons from the abandoned posts? This decision was by no means an easy one. But after anxious debate it was at last decided to send Gordon to evacuate the Soudan. Wolseley—the victor of Tel-el-Kebir, now commander-in-chief—brought Gordon to the room in which a committee of the cabinet were sitting, went in to confer with them, came out soon and said to Gordon—as the latter himself reports the conversation, "Government are determined to evacuate the Soudan, for they will not guarantee the government. Will you go and do it?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Go in." I went in and saw them. They said, "Did Wolseley tell you our orders?" I said, "Yes." I said, "You will not guarantee future government of the Soudan, and you wish me to go up and evacuate now." They said, "Yes," and it was over, and I left at 8 P. M. for Calais. Not a complete version of the conversation, as we know, but sufficient, and the tragedy was begun.

The dreary tale of the next twelve months must be told briefly. Gordon did go to Khartoum, and there soon changed his mind with the impulsiveness which was characteristic of him regarding the whole purpose of his mission. Instead of proceeding with the evacuation he decided to stay and crush El Mahdi. On his way to Cairo he had written, "The

Soudan is a useless possession; ever was and ever will be so. I think Her Majesty's government are fully justified in recommending the evacuation, inasmuch as the sacrifices necessary towards securing a good government would be far too onerous to admit of any such attempt being made. Indeed, one may say it is impracticable at any cost. Her Majesty's government will now leave them as God has placed them." Before the end of February he had abandoned this in favor of British suzerainty. In March he was enthusiastically preparing to "smash up the Mahdi." By May he was shut up in Khartoum, and the cabinet in London was considering a relief expedition.

Early in April it was seen that this might be necessary, but many of those who had watched the matter from the beginning were still unconvinced that Gordon could not leave Khartoum—a matter in which there was radical difference of opinion. Indeed there is little doubt that he could have brought his whole garrison safely back to Egypt early in the year if he had not changed his purpose from evacuation to attack. Six or eight years earlier his prestige in the Soudan had been immense; it had enabled him then to work miracles against the forces of disorder; but he did not realize how helpless he or anyone else might be when pitted against the wild fighters of the Soudan and the equatorial provinces united and maddened by the fierce enthusiasm of a holy war. If escape from Khartoum might have been effected in March, the gate was certainly closed by June and by the end of that month there was no hope except through the relief force. But this was a matter of immense difficulty, unanticipated and unprovided for. Gladstone was blamed by the English people for slowness, but all our admiration of Gordon's heroism should not blind us to the fact that he had done precisely what he had been told not to do, and that the whole terrible situation of the summer of 1884 was something of which the British premier and his advisers had never dreamed. Much time was spent during the early summer in the consideration of the best route to

Khartoum—a matter in which there was radical difference of opinion among the men who knew most about it. The Nile route was decided on finally at the end of July. Wolseley was at Cairo ready to start on the ninth of September and at Wady Halfa on the fifth of October. And then came the slow, heart-breaking task of ascending the cataracts, sweeps of rapids and falls seamed with rocks, where the boats had to be pulled up by ropes for mile on mile against the fierce current, guided by Canadian voyageurs.* Early in December the relief force reached the bend of the Nile beyond Dongola, where it sweeps down in a great elbow from Abu Hamed before flowing northward again toward the sea. To continue the climb up the fourth cataract to Abu Hamed and then toil on through the fifth to Berber and the sixth to Khartoum was practically to throw away all chance of success. So at Korti a flying column was formed to speed across the desert and strike the Nile again at Metemmeh, a little below the doomed city. A swift march, broken by fierce fighting, brought the little army to the point where four steamers sent by Gordon awaited them, and on January 24 two of them, with twenty-six British soldiers and two hundred and forty faithful Soudanese on board, set out up the river to reconnoiter. On the 28th, as they sighted Omdurman they heard an occasional shout from the bank telling them that Khartoum was fallen and Gordon dead. But not until they forced their way nearer and under heavy fire anxiously swept the city with their telescopes searching in vain for the Government house and the flag that had waved there so many weary months, did the grief-stricken men who had tried so hard to save Gordon realize that their long struggle had been in vain. They at least had done their best, and had done it nobly. But they were just three days too late.

So El Mahdi's empire swept unchecked up to Wady Halfa, and his triumphant followers carried their spears and their war-cry to the very gates of defeated Egypt, while

*The fourth cataract, between Dongola and Abu Hamed, drops one hundred and sixty feet in sixty-eight miles; the fifth, between Abu Hamed and Berber, two hundred feet in one hundred miles.

far-away England mourned her hero and looked bitterly up the valley of the Nile into the savage darkness of the Soudan. Year after year passed and as the wild neighborhood of the dervishes became more and more insupportable the old law that forbids a permanently stationary line between civilization and savagery came slowly into operation. Bit by bit the steel road crept south, bit by bit Egypt hurled the raids from the Soudan farther back, until at last Kitchener stood victorious on the field of Omdurman, the Union Jack waved over Gordon's grave, and Gordon's own dream of a crushed Mahdi and a restored British rule in the Soudan was fulfilled. To what end? The riddle of the Sphinx may be harder than the riddle of Egypt and the Soudan; to miss its answer can scarcely be more fatal.

Nothing could have been less planned by England than the conquest of Egypt or the conquest of the Soudan. The greatest of anti-imperialist British statesmen presided over the councils of Britain when the order was issued to bombard Alexandria. The event that led to the conquest of the Soudan was the mission of Gordon for its evacuation. The defense of Egypt is only rendered necessary by the enormous importance of that which is commanded by the citadel of Cairo —the Suez Canal built by Frenchmen. The canal is important because it leads to the East, and the East means— Australia, contemptuously neglected by the Dutch for a century and a half, rediscovered as an afterthought by an English sailor, then colonized by convicts,—and India, conquered by the servants of a trading company in defiance of orders. Nothing less like a coherent, well planned whole could be imagined. Every stone in the structure seems an accident. Yet looking at it now we see no ill-ordered confusion, but a great and peaceful empire in which each part fills its place as if a master-builder had put it there. Think of the whole marvelous chain of causes and effects from the capture of Arcot and the victory of Plassey to Omdurman and the last report from Lord Cromer, and then—go to Egypt and look long at the face of the Sphinx.

The Perils and Rewards of Empire

AND now let us survey our whole field of study and see whether we have attained anything,—whether there are any definite principles or achievements in the story of Imperial England which may guide, and widen, and deepen our thinking about the whole great subject which has been in our minds. To sum it all up is doubtless not quite possible. But to put our ideas in order let us review as clearly as we can the problems and perils brought to England by the growth of her Empire, and then see whether there is any counterbalancing good which may make the Empire seem at all a forward step in the story of the British people.

Perhaps the gravest dangers which cause earnest men to view imperialism with suspicion and even dread may be summed up under four heads. There is the danger of conflict with other expanding powers. There is the weakness that may come from the extension of frontier. There is the moral danger that menaces the strong power which conquers a weak one; the responsibility that attends the destruction or the hindrance of independent national existence. And in some aspects of the great question there is the apparent endlessness of the task, the disheartening futility of the labor and expenditure, the necessity which each conquest brings of some further conquest, with the danger of final national exhaustion. Now these are not stated in order to be controverted. They are the dangers which the English have been increasingly facing ever since the race began its career of expansion, and which they are facing now. Still another danger might once have been added—that involved in the relations of the mother country to her daughter colonies as colonies,—but that, we may hope, has been solved once for all.

The danger of conflict with other expanding powers is peculiarly easy for Americans and Canadians to understand. If England and France had not each laid hands on America Wolfe would not have died before Quebec, and two great

peoples would have been saved the burden and the danger of the gigantic duel of the eighteenth century. Until the capture of Quebec in 1759 no one could say with certainty that English and not French would be the language in the coming centuries of four-fifths of North America. Indeed, if in the long war the cause of Montcalm had triumphed the Atlantic colonies—absurd as the thing seems to us now—might have had the place in a great New France that Quebec holds now in Canada. But it was written otherwise, and the dreams of Louis XIV and Frontenac faded in the smoke of Wolfe's cannon. Unless the American Republic and Canada should meet in war—and it would be a war unpardonable as deadly, a war not to be even thought of without horror—there will be no further conflict of expanding empires in America. But this happy prospect scarcely exists in Africa* or Asia. In Africa the danger belongs to the future, and may be avoided. In Asia, England and Russia have been rivals ever since the Tzar Paul struck hands with Napoleon and planned the invasion of India.

The danger of collision with other powers, the weakness and constant danger involved in extended frontiers, and the terrible endlessness of a forward movement once begun have all been fairly well illustrated in India and Egypt. They may be reinforced more specifically and not unprofitably by a little study of the situation during the past generation along the northwestern frontier of India and by the story in a little more detail of some phases of expansion in South Africa.

India is bounded on the north by some six thousand miles of mountain wall,—a wall in places four hundred miles broad, and in the main an impassable barrier to invasion. As a matter of fact it has needed attention for centuries only in the northwest, where the Khyber and the Bolan passes have long been the highways into India of merchant and invader. Here, especially in the great hills that overlook the Punjab, the fiercest of mountaineers lurk in

*Refer to J. S. Keltie's Partition of Africa.

inaccessible retreats, rob and murder the unwary traveler, fight one another in endless feuds, combine now and then in ferocious crusades against alien intruders, or pounce in daring raids on the farms and villages of the plains. In their own mountains they are as formidable as they are intractable, and there is little prospect of their ever being less so. "Except at the times of sowing and of harvest a continual state of feud and strife prevails throughout the land.* Tribe wars with tribe. The people of one valley fight with those of the next. And to the quarrels of communities are added the combats of individuals. Khan assails Khan. . . . Every tribesman has a blood feud with his neighbor. Every man's hand is against the other, and all against the stranger. Nor are these struggles conducted with the weapons which usually belong to the races of such development. To the ferocity of the Zulu are added the craft of the redskin and the marksmanship of the Boer. The world is presented with that grim spectacle—the strength of civilization without its mercy. At a thousand yards the traveler falls wounded by the well-aimed bullet of a breech-loading rifle. His assailant, approaching, hacks him to death with the ferocity of a South Sea islander. Here the weapons of the nineteenth century are in the hands of savages of the stone age."

The presence of such a frontier is of itself a sufficiently serious matter. It is as if in a range of hills in the midst of Massachusetts or New York, a range ten times as lofty and as inaccessible as the Berkshires or the Adirondacks, there lived a still unconquered race of Indians as savage as the Mohawks of the seventeenth century and as skilled in mountain warfare as the Swiss or the Albanians. Permanent peace would be impossible, in that case, except through conquest. But conquest of the Himalaya country is practically an impossibility. Each forward step of British rule in

*Winston Churchill, The Malikand Field Force. This and Warburton's Eighteen Years in the Khyber Pass are, perhaps, especially worthy of mention among the many excellent books, written by men who know their subject at first hand, about this strange and fascinating part of the wilder world.

India has been the solution of an insistent frontier question by conquest, as has been the case under somewhat different superficial conditions with the advance of the English race in America. But each new frontier was wider than the old one and quite as difficult, until now the customary solution of the problem seems at last a hopeless one. All that can be done is to maintain a military force to serve as frontier police, to seize and hold as many strategic points as possible, to guard and keep the peace in the two great passes, and to maintain a sleepless watch against the tidal wave of ferocious savagery that may at any moment surge and swell in the mountains under the impulse of some half demented prophet. But this is not all. Back of the mountains lies Afghanistan. And back of Afghanistan lies Russia.

Russian expansion in Asia began in the days of Ivan the Terrible (1581), when Elizabeth was on the throne of England. But the conquest of Siberia between 1580 and 1636 and the expansion south to the Amur in the far east mattered not at all to England or to any other power in Europe. When the Treaty of Nertchinsk was signed in 1689 between Russia and China the frontiers of England and Russia in Asia were four thousand miles apart,* and Russia's advance to the Oxus was as little anticipated as England's to the Indus. By 1800 Russia had absorbed the Khirghiz steppes, and England's influence, guided by Wellesley, was creeping into the interior of India; the distance between the two empires had dwindled to two thousand miles, and Paul was planning an invasion of India by way of the Caspian Sea and Afghanistan. Between 1800 and 1850 England annexed the Northwest Provinces, Scinde, Oudh and the Punjab, so that her frontier posts touched the foot of the mountains. In the same time Russia had reached across the desert steppes and was launching boats on the Aral Sea. The distance was reduced to one thousand miles. The advance through Tashkent to Khiva,

*These few statements are practically a condensation of Roberts' admirably clear and interesting statement of the matter in his Forty-One Years in India, a book that every student of Imperial England should read. A fuller account will be found in Curzon, Russia in Asia and in Skrine and Ross, The Heart of Asia.

Samarcand and Bokhara in the sixties cut the thousand down to four hundred. Transcaspia was annexed in 1884, and in 1895 the Pamirs Commission appointed to arrange the frontier question permanently and satisfactorily (!!), left the empires touching at last on the "roof of the world" and only separated for hundreds of miles by the restless country of Afghanistan.

For years before 1895 this result had been foreseen. But what was to be done? England might protest against the annexation of Merv and Bokhara, but she could not really prevent it any more than Russia could prevent the annexation of Oudh. How then could safety be assured? Was England to watch the advance of Russia until the Cossacks watered their horses in the Cabul River or even the Indus, or should she forestall her rival and seize in time the most important strategic points? Simply so that we may see the situation let us note two expert opinions of forty years ago. Here is the opinion of Sir Herbert Edwards, one of the ablest and sanest officers of his day in India: "By waiting on our present frontier we husband our money, organize our line of defence, rest upon our base and railroads, save our troops from fatigue and bring our heaviest artillery into the field; while the enemy can only bring light guns into the passes, has to bribe and fight his way across Afghanistan, wears out and decimates his army, exhausts his treasury and carriage, and when defeated has to retreat through the passes and over all Afghanistan—plundered at every march by the tribes." Note this carefully, and then compare this utterance by Lord Lawrence, whose advice was equally against a "forward policy:" "The approach of Russia may involve us in great difficulties; and this being the case it will be a wise and prudent policy to endeavor to maintain a thoroughly friendly power between India and Russia. . . . Nevertheless, . . . it is quite out of our power to reckon with any degree of certainty on the attainment of this desirable end. And I feel no shadow of a doubt that if a formidable invasion of India from the west were imminent,

An Afghan Hill Fighter of the early Nineteenth Century

the Afghans *en masse* from the Ameer of the day to the domestic slave of the household would readily join in it."*

If Edwards and Lawrence were right, therefore, it was wise not to advance a step farther, but to maintain a buffer state which might bear the brunt of any possible attack. The obvious "buffer" was Afghanistan. So Viceroy after Viceroy sedulously cultivated friendship with Afghanistan and supplied the gratified Ameers with money and rifles with little corresponding return. For the Afghans had an invincible objection to the residence of an ambassador of any power whatever at Cabul. They had faith moreover, based not without reason on the first Afghan war, in their ability to prevent any permanent conquest of their country and to make an invasion so difficult and unpleasant that it would not be lightly undertaken. So in the eyes of some men the situation was unsatisfactory. The buffer state might at any moment ally itself with Russia in an invasion, as many a time had been done in the old days before the British conquest. The money and arms furnished by British India and received with lavish assurance might be turned against the givers, and Lawrence's prediction be fulfilled. No certainty was possible without the presence of a British resident at Cabul and some effective means of getting troops through from India.

The time came at last when practically conclusive information came to Lord Lytton, Viceroy of India, that Russia was in secret correspondence with the Ameer, and definite news came that a Russian officer had been received with state in Cabul. Lytton and his chief at home, Lord Beaconsfield, were in agreement as to the immediate need of remonstrance. An ultimatum, a victorious war, the triumphant placing of an envoy—the gallant Cavagnari—in Cabul, his murder, another war closed triumphantly and ineffectively by a stately treaty,—these followed in rapid succession. But there was still no permanent embassy in the Afghan capital,

*See Temple's Lord Lawrence and in more detail G. Bosworth Smith's Lord Lawrence. A most admirable and fascinating presentation of the history of the question with a strong argument for the "forward policy" is in Lady Betty Balfour, Lytton's Indian Administration.

and little had been really achieved beyond an increased respect in the minds of the Afghans for the British arms. Russia had in a measure avenged herself for the check England had given her at the Congress of Berlin. A costly war, glorious enough, conducted with ability and gallantry to a successful end, had yet left matters very much as they were before. And since then soldiers and statesmen have gone on struggling with the situation, building a railroad through the Bolan Pass to Quetta—within striking distance of Candahar—chastising and conciliating the mountain tribes, and at all costs *keeping the peace* along the frontier and through the Khyber Pass.

The danger and deeply perplexing intricacy of the frontier queston when people of savage or barbarous race are concerned may be further illustrated by the experience of South Africa. And here too as in the case of India, with the impression of complexity and gravity in the problem comes a feeling of terrible inevitableness, a sense of remorseless law, in which honest intentions and selfish ambition seem alike to contribute to the same steady advance of empire. There is a very true sense in which it may be said to be wrong to emphasize this working out of law as compared with the force of individual initiative. The gallantry and statesmanship of Clive is doubtless more inspiring than the contemplation of the vast results that have flowed from Arcot and Plassey. The profound causes which have led the white race to conquer the red in America, which have made the Russian power supreme in Central Asia, which have made the English the rulers of India, have an inexorable fatefulness about them which dismay us. But these laws are not external to human action. The story of empire simply enforces our conviction that interference with personal and national life is not to be undertaken lightly; that to solve a problem by drawing the sword or overturning a throne may be perfectly right, but can never be a thing of little moment. So now in further illustration let us look briefly at part of the story of whites and blacks in South Africa.

When the Dutch first came to South Africa the native inhabitants of the Cape and of the country inland for several hundred miles were Bushmen and Hottentots. Just to the north there was a group of much more highly developed tribes to be included under the general name of Bantus, but the Bantu tribes with whom the Dutch had to deal they called the Kosas or Kaffirs. These warlike savages had apparently been moving slowly down towards the southern point of the continent, and between the European and Kaffir invaders there was naturally a collision. Several severe wars were fought before and after the English conquest, resulting in a gradual movement of the frontier inland. Now it was just here that the missionaries of the school of Livingstone made their protest. The Kaffirs, they declared, were quiet enough when they were honorably treated, and it was only when robbed, outraged and treated like brutes that they resorted to force as the last appeal. The powerful influence of the London Missionary Society was successfully brought to bear on the government, therefore, with the result that an increasing friction began to be noticeable between the views of the colonists and the colonial office. This culminated in the thirties, when a series of unfortunate acts brought it to a head.

In 1827 and 1828 the old Dutch method of administering justice was done away with, and officials and forms of procedure were substituted according to English ideas and with English names. The old burgher senate was abolished at the same time, and a notice issued that all documents addressed to the government must be written in English. Several judges insisted on members of a jury being able to speak English, and excluded Dutchmen from a jury even when prisoner and witnesses were Dutch themselves, and though this was remedied in the course of a few years the memory of the insult remained hot. In 1828 was also passed an ordinance repealing a restrictive law which had been aimed at the vagrant habits of the Hottentots, and placing them in political rights on a level with Europeans. In 1833 came the abolition of slavery. Now slavery was not

Black Glacier at Amurnath, Cashmere, India, 16,000 feet above Sea Level

Panorama of the Cashmere Valley, India

Great Glacier, Glacier, British Columbia

Cascade Mountain, Banff, British Columbia

rooted in South Africa as it was, say, in Jamaica; the conditions were quite different, and the arguments for the continuance of the institution in the West Indies have never been valid for the Cape. Still slaves were there—nearly four thousand of them—as they had been since the first founding of the colony, and they were owned largely by the Dutch farmers. The compensation allotted by the British government was less than half the estimated value of the slaves so that the whole proceeding was to the colonists as if the crown had deliberately and arrogantly deprived them of valuable and hard-earned property.

Finally in December, 1834, came a formidable Kaffir war. Twelve thousand warriors crossed the frontier without any warning and ravaged the European territory for miles, robbing, burning, and murdering. As soon as the news reached Capetown action was vigorously taken. Colonel Smith—afterwards better known as Sir Harry Smith—took command of the British troops, and by the middle of February the invaders were driven back into their own country. Up to 1819 the boundary line between Kaffirland and Cape Colony had been the Great Fish river. In that year it had been moved on after a war to the Keiskamma. Eighty miles past the Keiskamma is the Kei and fifty miles beyond the Kei is the Bashee. At the end of March, then, the colonial troops crossed the Keiskamma and inside of two weeks they had driven their opponents over the Kei and followed them across. In the peace that followed, the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, believing that a heavy blow was necessary and that half measures were useless, placed the new frontier at the Kei river, eighty miles beyond the old one, and transplanted into the conquered region some seventeen thousand people who were in search of a home, making it a kind of subordinate buffer state under the name of the province of Queen Adelaide. He went on the assumption, that is to say, that an extension of British rule was the only safe solution of the native question.

But while nearly the whole colony—including most of the

missionaries themselves—agreed with the governor's action and lauded his firmness and wisdom, some of the ablest and most influential representatives of the London Missionary Society took the opposite stand, and they found a willing listener in the Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg. Lord Glenelg was a strongly anti-imperialist Whig. Moreover he was a man of benevolent feelings, easily moved by philanthropic motives, and when able and good men represented the Kaffirs to him as a helpless and outraged race whose ancestral home was being invaded and taken from them by unscrupulous men, he grew to believe sincerely that the governor had done the natives a grievous wrong. Accordingly he resolved to return the new province of Queen Adelaide to the injured Kaffirs. So this was done, and Sir Benjamin D'Urban was recalled.

The most notable results can be summed up in two statements. First: The Boers looked upon it as the last straw. Those who lived near the shaken frontier, knowing how insecure their lives and property must now be, decided to move away from the influence of so changeable and irritating a government and make new homes for themeselves farther north and east. Secondly: The Kaffirs believed that for some inscrutable reason their enemies had become afraid of them, and that for future raids no severe punishment was to be feared. The cancelling of D'Urban's act of settlement accordingly brought another forty years of trouble before the final and complete adoption of his policy in 1878. The whole of the land of the Kaffirs in that year became finally and entirely subject to the British crown and was annexed to the Cape Colony. But it was forty years too late as far as good feeling between the Boers and England were concerned, for in 1836 the Great Trek had taken place which ended in the foundation of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic.

Long before these events, while the Dutch East India Company was still ruling Cape Colony, was born to the chief of an insignificant Bantu tribe a son whom he named Chaka.

As the child grew to boyhood he quarreled with his father and finally he and his mother fled by night and took refuge with a more powerful chief named Dingiswayo. Now Dingiswayo was a man cunning in war, and having heard of the European method of organizing an army, he adopted the idea as far as his limited opportunities permitted and formed his soldiers into well-drilled regiments. Into this army Chaka entered and by virtue of immense physical strength, great skill in the use of weapons, and general aptitude for war, he rapidly rose to be one of Dingiswayo's best and most trusted officers. When the old chief died, therefore, the army at once raised Chaka to his place, and all those who now obeyed the new leader called themselves by the name of his tribe,—the now terrible name of Zulu.

The organization and arms of Dingiswayo's army were improved by his successor; the Zulu regiments became the most formidable engines of war in South Africa; and their chief was only too anxious not to let them rust for lack of use. On tribe after tribe he hurled his army and blotted them out,—slaying all but the girls and boys who were thought fit for incorporation into the conquering nation,—all somewhat after the manner of the Iroquois but with a more bloodthirsty desire to kill. In 1827 General Bourke, acting governor of the Cape, put this suggestive remark in a note to the secretary of state, "The interior of Africa at no great distance from this settlement appears to be in a state of great commotion and for some years past various powerful tribes have been pressing to the southward, driving the weaker ones before them from whom many fugitives, under different appellations, have obtained refuge in the colony." It was the work of the Zulus. Their invincible and merciless power drove tribe after tribe to choose between annihilation and flight. Those who fled seemed to have caught the fierce spirit of their pursuers, for they also slaughtered as they went, until the very demon of murder and dismay seemed to possess the whole region south of the Zambesi.

One of the districts cleared of its inhabitants by Chaka

was that covered by the modern colony of Natal. The name had been given to the coast as far back as Vasco da Gama, but it was not settled by Europeans until 1827. In that year several Englishmen cultivated the friendship of the Zulu king and obtained from him a grant of Port Natal with the surrounding territory one hundred miles inland. Fugitives from various tribes gathered around the white men and it became a fairly prosperous settlement under the protection of Chaka, while after his assassination in 1828 the new king, Dingaan, was even more careful to cultivate the friendship and confidence of the English. Missionaries came, a church was built, and a town laid out which was christened Durban after the energetic governor of the Cape.

In 1836 came the great Boer emigration, and Natal received its share of the moving farmers. And now occurred the first collision between Europeans and Zulus. Suspicious of the migrating host, Dingaan treacherously fell upon a body of three hundred men, women and children and massacred them all. A body of troops sent to aid the distressed people was defeated and its leaders killed. Things looked black for the colony until in 1838 an army of resolute Dutch farmers under an able leader—Andries Pretorius, after whom the Transvaal capital is named—invaded the country of Dingaan and on the banks of the Blood River overthrew the Zulu army and killed some three thousand of its warriors. For the time then, the land had rest.

Now pass over the years till you come to 1878, when Cetewayo, son of Panda, was king of the Zulus. Much had happened since the defeat of Dingaan at the Blood River. The Boers, freed by their own efforts from the Zulus and Matabele had formed scattered settlements far inland past the Orange and the Vaal rivers. Natal had become British territory, while by the Sand River Convention in 1852 and the Bloemfontein Convention in 1854 the Transvaal and Orange republics had been recognized as independent states. But the Transvaal in those days scarcely deserved the name of a state, and between 1852 and 1877 trouble was brewing up

there. The farmers with the proud narrowness of a democracy and the irresponsibility of a land in which every man lived to a considerable extent unto himself, trod on the rights of every tribe in their neighborhood, excited a hostility to the whites which blocked trade and menaced the British colonies, and became a distinct nuisance to all South Africa. The British governors tried both to restrain the Boers and to keep the irritated Zulus from attacking them, only with the result of exasperating the latter and doing no good. Finally, under circumstances which we cannot take time to relate, the knot was cut by the annexation of the Transvaal to British territory in 1877, and England now took over the problem of restoring confidence and atoning for the lack of law and responsibility which had prevailed under the Dutch regime.

But it was too late as far as the Zulus were concerned. Cetewayo had always been the friend of the English as long as the Dutch republic was still there, but now the balance of power was overthrown, and the Zulu king found himself hemmed in by a power that was apparently bent on a policy of annexation. The savage method of expressing fear and distrust is by depredation and insolence—the Zulu proceedings on the Natal frontier soon demanded remonstrance, and a courteous message of December, 1878, containing liberal concessions but demanding cessation of outrages and immediate compensation, was left unanswered. War was the inevitable consequence.

In January, 1879, Zululand was invaded by three columns under the command of Lord Chelmsford, the general leading in person the central division across the Buffalo River at Rorke's Drift. About ten miles east of the ford the army camped by the steep, lonely hill of Isandlana, and on January 22, Lord Chelmsford moved off a few miles with half his force to support a reconnoitering party. Orders were left to those who remained behind that they should hold themselves within the camp, and then the two divisions were parted for the day. In the evening when the general came back to his camp he found no sign of life. Eight hun-

dred Englishmen and five hundred native allies lay there dead at the hands of Cetewayo's Zulus. The savage chief had played the ancient stratagem of attacks with a small force and retreating. The English had lost their heads, had followed the enemy, and had been surrounded and cut off by thousands of warriors. After the desperate struggle was over the triumphant Zulus proceeded to Rorke's Drift, where a little garrison of ninety-six men had been left to defend the ford. From half-past four in the afternoon till four next morning the little band of Englishmen held their post—a mere makeshift hospital containing forty sick men besides its defenders—against three thousand Zulus. At dawn the appearance of Lord Chelmsford, who had marched from the desolate camp at Isandlana, made the enemy retire. So melancholy a disaster and so brilliant a defence in the same day turned the attention of the world to South Africa. Reinforcements come to Zululand from the Cape, from Ceylon, and from England. A victory at Kambula brought Cetewayo to his knees, and the battle of Ulundi on the fourth of July ended the war. Since then England has had many fierce fights with the natives, but none to compare with her struggle with the Zulus. Only one—the Matabele war—can be mentioned in the same breath, and the Matabele was really a section of the Zulus, with the same traditions and the same military organization and discipline.

These things are taken simply as illustrations. They represent cases which might be indefinitely multiplied, and they all point not to pessimism or to sweeping condemnation of expansion, but—let us say over again—to a certain and inexorable sense of law. That because a thing is lightly done it must needs have light results human nature is ever prone to believe. We are oppressed with a sense of injustice when the thoughtlessness or indifference or passion of an hour brings a lifetime of heavy payment. And perhaps, as Plato, in his study of justice, turned from the individual to the state that he might see the subject more plainly on the larger canvas, so we may see in the study of empire some of the funda-

mental laws of life that are less obvious but none the less operative in the unthought-of doings of each day.

The Pilgrim Fathers peering from their little ship towards the sullen shore of New England, Clive defending the walls of Arcot, Phillip guiding and guarding his little convict colony on the shore of Port Jackson, John Lawrence planting deep in the hearts of the conquered Sikhs a respect for English justice, Livingstone toiling and suffering in the jungle of Central Africa—all these in their own way teaching the might and the far-reaching results of ordinary work-a-day duty well done. None had more than passing dreams of empire. And even though each problem solved has brought new problems, though the good deeds of good men and the wise plans of wise men have been terribly balanced by things evil and foolish, yet it is with empire as it is with all life: the evil and foolishness must ever be fought, with the memory of blunders paid for to make us wiser and the inspiration of the Clives and Livingstones to make us braver.

And hope for the future surely is not lacking. Bit by bit the British peoples have changed the meaning of the word empire. The union of liberty with law and order which has steadily grown to maturity in the home islands has been the unconsious ideal of the empire builders. Even in India and Egypt the British flag has meant education and an increasing share of the natives in government,—a measure of liberty which would have been unthinkable under the rulers which preceded Clive and Hastings in Bengel or Cromer in Egypt. And outside of these two vast dependencies what is the Empire? It is a confederacy of free nations, looking with love and loyalty to the ancient home of their race and yet free, prosperous, and full of vitality, working out their future in practical independence and yet bound together by an unbroken tradition of kinship and common heritage.

So long as the British Empire holds to its present ideals, so long as the best element of the three united races—English, Scotch and Irish—continues to dominate or at least to check and weaken the baser part from which no race is free,

so long as the red ensign of England stands in the main for freedom and justice throughout all her vast domains, so long will the Empire last. On the same tremendous conditions hangs the future of the United States. They are conditions that no people can escape. To say then that the issue rests with God is true and yet perhaps in so final and comforting a statement there is something deceptive. After all, the coming years for Britain and the British domains beyond seas rest with the race that has made them what they are. On its strength, on its wisdom, on its justice depends the justification of the Empire.

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Egypt: Milner, England in Egypt; White, The Expansion of Egypt; Traill, England, Egypt and the Soudan, and Life of Lord Cromer; G. W. Stevens, Egypt in 1898, and its sequel, with Kitchener to Khartoum; Butler, Gordon, and the chapters relating to Egypt in Morley's Gladstone.

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REVIEW QUESTIONS

THE DOMINION OF CANADA

1. Show how the French conquest of Canada failed to be permanent. 2. How was Canada at first divided and governed by the English? 3. How did the population and hence the ideas of the people begin to change? 4. In what peculiar situation were their English rulers thus placed? 5. What attempt to pacify the colony was made in 1763? 6. What circumstances at length led to the Quebec Act? 7. Why was the Quebec Act a "monument of

blind folly?" 8. How did government by the people come to be realized in Canada? 9. What is the point of view held by "Little Englanders?" 10. How did the French Revolution affect English ideas of liberty? 11. Sum up the two characteristic views of colonial policy in England up to 1840. 12. What conditions in Canada led to the revolt of Mackenzie and Papineau? 13. What changes had England undergone between 1791 and 1837? 14. What did the Act of Union signify? 15. How did the British North America Act provide for the growth of the Dominion? 16. Who was Sir John MacDonald? 17. What is the relation of the English colonist to the mother country?

THE ROAD TO THE EAST—EGYPT

1. What are some of the points which guard Great Britain's Road to the East? 2. What did Napoleon's attempt on Egypt show? 3. What were the steps by which France lost and England gained the control of the Suez Canal? 4. What are the "International Courts" and why are they created? 5. What was the effect upon Egypt of the appointment of the *Caisse de la Dette?* 6. Why did not England advocate the doctrine of "non-interference" with Egypt? 7. Why was the revolt under Arabi regarded so seriously by England and France? 8. What in brief is the story of England's control of the lower Nile Valley? 9. What had been the condition of the Soudan before the rise of El Mahdi? 10. What were the steps which led to Gordon's being shut up at Khartoum? 11. Describe the expedition for his relief. 12. Sum up the steps in the English occupation of Egypt.

THE PERILS AND REWARDS OF EMPIRE

1. What four great dangers does English imperialism have to face? 2. How long have England and Russia been rivals in Asia? 3. What is the character of the mountaineers of the Khyber Pass? 4. Why does the struggle with these races seem a hopeless one ? 5. Show how England and Russia have steadily approached each other in this region. 6. What arguments have been urged against a forward policy? 7. What great difficulty besets such a policy? 8. What happened when the necessity for remonstrance came? 9. What grievances had the South African Dutch against the English up to the time of the Great Trek? 10. Describe the rise of the Zulus to power. 11. What difficulties resulted in the annexation of the Transvaal to Great Britain?

SEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Who was the Earl of Durham? 2. Who is the present governor-general of Canada? 3. What were the great rival fur trading companies of Canada? 4. Who is Goldwin Smith? 5. For whom was the Mackenzie River named, and why? 6. What was the *Pacte de Famille* of 1733? 7. What was the Industrial Revolution? 8. For what service is Lord Dufferin remembered? 9. How did England secure Malta? 10. When did she take Perim? 11. What price did Disraeli pay for the shares in the Suez Canal? 12. What has been the career of Lord Cromer? 13. Where is Pamir?

End of December Required Reading, pages 289-353.

The Stage for Which Shakespeare Wrote

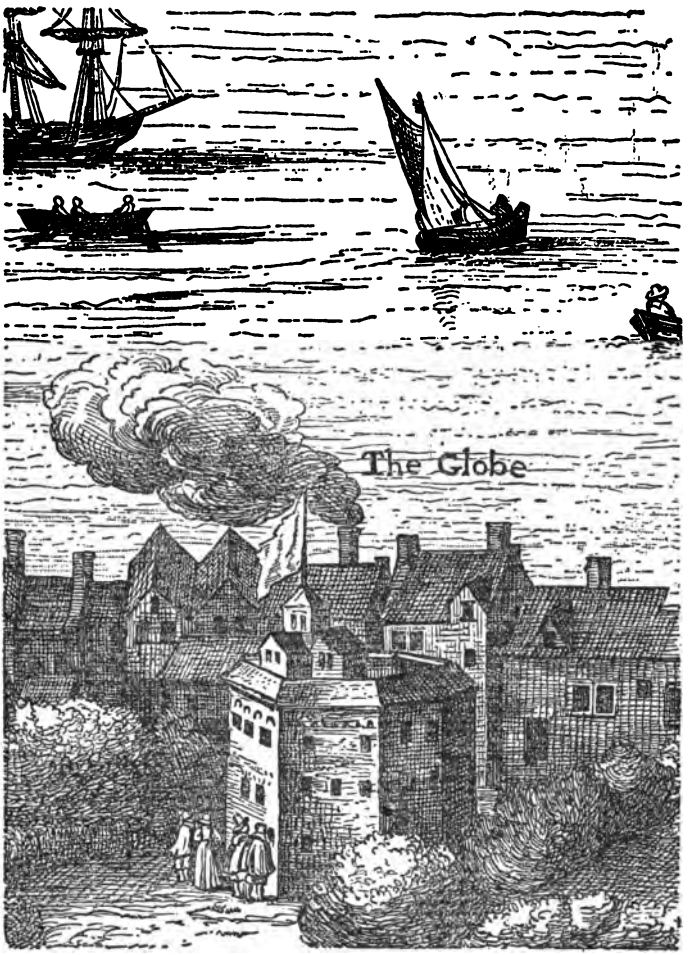
III. The Theaters of Elizabeth's London

By Carl H. Grabo

IN 1575 the Puritans who controlled the municipal government of London succeeded in driving the companies of players from the city. The inn-yards in which dramatic performances were held were said to be the resort of low characters who delighted in riot and disturbance, and the plays themselves were said to be immoral in their influence. Doubtless there was much justice in this complaint and sober and respectable citizens may reasonably have considered dramatic exhibitions a menace to order and propriety. An additional argument against such performances was found in the theory that the plague, an ever dreaded enemy, was spread by the miscellaneous gatherings which crowded the inn-yards. In this, too, there was doubtless some truth and the representations of the Puritans finally carried the day against the opposition of the lower classes.

Driven from the city inn-yards the companies of actors sought refuge in the outlying districts without the jurisdiction of the London authorities. Finsbury Fields to the north of the city, a place already noted as a center of sports and recreation, became the first resort of the actors. There, in the "liberty of Halliwell," was built the first playhouse, "The Theater." The ground on which this playhouse was built had once been held by the church and certain immunities had descended with its title. There, though easily accessible to Londoners, The Theater was free from municipal control.

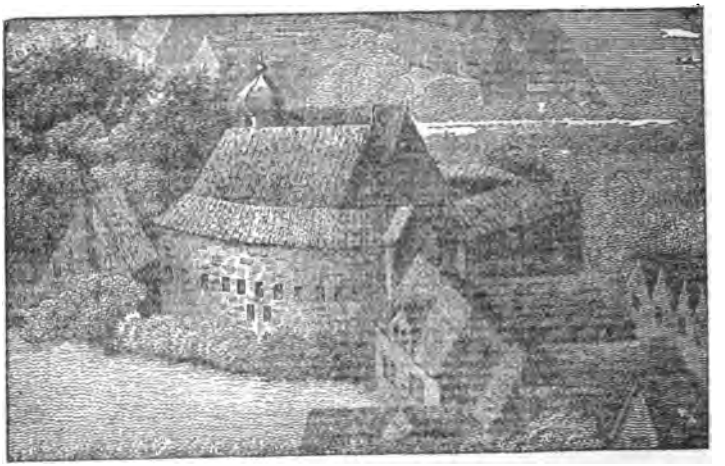
The significance of the name "The Theater" has been a matter of some dispute. The term has been thought to be an abbreviation of "amphitheater" inasmuch as the structure is known to have been circular in shape, unroofed, and used often for fencing, dancing, etc., as well as for theatrical



The Second Globe Theater, opened in 1614

exhibitions. The term "theater" is also thought to refer to the stage, a movable one, which was built for the performance of the plays. Mr. Ordish, author of "London Theaters," inclines to this latter view.

The innovation introduced by the owners of The Theater



The Hope Theater in 1647

was the requirement of an admission fee from the spectators. Previous to this time actors had relied upon the generosity of their patrons and had simply "passed the hat." This change of method slight as it seems is really important for it marks the establishment of the drama upon a solid, legitimate basis. From this time a company of actors became a more stable, responsible, and competent body than ever before and the dramatic profession rose steadily in popular esteem.

The Theater is supposed to have attracted Shakespeare when he first went to London. There, it is thought, he received his first experience as an actor and a playwright. It is known that he was at a later time part owner of the Globe, and the Globe, it is known, was built from the timbers of the dismantled The Theater when the latter was destroyed in the winter of 1598-99. The owners of The Theater, James and Richard Burbage, changed the location of their property because of a dispute with the owner from whom they leased their land. But they were doubtless influenced as well, by a desire to establish themselves on the Bankside, the Surrey side of the Thames opposite London, a resort

which grew more and more popular, finally eclipsing the resorts of Finsbury Fields to the north.

One other theater closely associated with The Theater was the Curtain, so-called not because of any curtain used in its performances but for the reason that it was built on a piece of land known as The Curtain. This theater led a precarious existence, but despite the opposition of the city authorities and even despite orders for its removal it managed to survive until about the year 1625. The Curtain was a popular place of amusement and is of interest to us in that "Henry V" was first performed upon its stage. "Romeo and Juliet" may also have been played there.

It is to the Bankside that we must turn for the further history of the Elizabethan drama, for in addition to the Globe there were at various times on the Surrey shore, the Swan, the Hope, and the Rose theaters. There were perhaps one or two additional theaters which served at times for theatrical exhibitions as well as for bear and bull baiting, dancing, fencing, etc. But concerning these the available records are deficient. The one other theater of importance of which we know anything was the Fortune and this, like the Curtain, was built to the north of London rather than on the Bankside.

The Bankside was popular long before the advent of the theaters as a place for bear baiting. Doubtless the establishment of the theaters in the same locality was with an eye to additional profits through that favorite amusement. Certain it is that the theaters were built so that they could be easily adaped either to plays or to bear and bull baiting and Edward Alleyne, the famous actor and manager, the founder of Dulwich College, made much money as a promoter of bear baiting.

The influences of the amphitheater and of the Tudor inn-yard on the structure of the Elizabethan theater become readily apparent now that we have reviewed the origin of the theaters and considered the variety of uses to which they were put. Through the aid of old maps and cuts and the

few detailed specifications which have come down to us we can create a more definite picture of the interior and exterior of a theater than we have yet obtained.

The Fortune theater was, we know, built on much the same plan as the Globe and as we have specifications of the former we are thus enabled to get some idea of two of the most important theaters of Shakespeare's time, one of which, the Globe, is closely associated with his life and work. Following are the general specifications for the Fortune:

The frame of the house was to be set square "fouer score foote of lawful assize everye waie square without, and fiftie-five foote of like assize square everye waie within," with a strong foundation of piles brick, sand, and lime, "to be wrought one foote of assize at the leiste above the ground." The theater consisted of three stories, of 12, 11, and 9 feet high respectively. They were to be 12½ feet wide, "besides a jutty forwards in eyther of the saide two upper stories of tene ynches of lawful assize." There were four "gentlemen's rooms," and sufficient and convenient two-penny rooms; and all the rooms were to be provided with seats. The theater was to have "suche like steares, conveyances, and divisions, without and within, as are made and contryved in the late erected play-house on the Bancke, in the said Parish of St. Savior's, called the Globe." There was to be a tiring room, and a "shadow, or covering," over the stage. The length of the stage was 43 feet, and it extended forward to the middle of the yard. Beneath the stage and beneath the first gallery the space was railed with oak boards. The roof of the shadow, galleries, stairs, etc., were covered with tile, and the rooms ceiled with "lathe, lyme and haire."*

The one important difference between the Globe and the Fortune was that the former was circular and the latter as the specifications indicate, square. Other theaters were hexagonal or octagonal and the Swan may have been oval as it appears in the drawing of De Witte. The same general interior arrangement, however, was probably common to all the theaters.

The seating capacity of such a theater as the Fortune or Globe has been a matter of considerable dispute. De Witte,

*From Henry T. Stephenson's "Shakespeare's London."

the Dutch scholar who visited England in 1596, stated that the Swan seated three thousand persons. Mr. T. F. Ordish* states in opposition to this contemporary account that three hundred would be nearer the proper number. The grounds for this statement and others which would make the Elizabethan theater a small affair are very questionable. A modern scholar, Mr. John Corbin, in a recent article in the *Atlantic Monthly*† endeavors to prove the reliability of De Witte's statement that the Swan held three thousand people, by estimating the probable capacity of the Fortune as indicated by the specifications cited above. Mr. Corbin makes a careful estimate of the seating capacity of the three galleries, the stage, and the pit and concludes that the normal capacity of the Fortune was 2,138 and that crowded it would hold 2,558. Such an estimate sustains the credibility of De Witte's statement regarding the Swan. Mr. Corbin further quotes Coryat's statement that the Venetian playhouses were "beggarly and bare in comparison of our stately playhouses in England." This evidence supplemented by the general fame of the Elizabethan theaters throughout the Europe of their day seems to sustain the most recent view that the theaters of Shakespeare's time compared favorably in size with the playhouses of today, which seat usually from twelve hundred to two thousand persons.

But though of similar size the Elizabethan theaters were very different in arrangement from the theaters which we know today. The sketch made of the interior of the Swan after a description by DeWitte has been subjected to considerable criticism in that it does not conform exactly with other information from reliable sources. But in general it seems to be accurate and to afford as nothing else does a picture of an old playhouse.

Several interesting points may be observed upon an examination of this contemporary sketch. First: The interior of the theater looks very much like an amphitheater. It is

*T. F. Ordish, "Early London Theaters."

†John Corbin, "Shakespeare and the Plastic Stage," *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1906.

circular (or perhaps oval) and is open to the sky. Instead of tiers of seats surrounding the pit, however, there are three galleries, which, unlike our modern galleries, run almost completely around the theater. These galleries are roofed and give the theater the general appearance of a well with a thick double wall.

The stage is perhaps the most peculiar point of all. It protrudes into the middle of the pit and is open on three sides to the view of the spectators. It seems large in proportion to the theater and from the specifications noted in the Fortune theater it may well have been so. In the Fortune the stage was to be forty-three feet long—a very considerable size. At the back of the stage are two doors. These lead into the tiring-house where the actors clothed themselves for the fray. Above these doors is either a balcony or a loggia and above that a superstructure which terminates above the roof line in a small hut-like structure. (Other views show two small towers upon the roof.) Over the tower is a mast with a flag bearing the picture of a swan, the device of the Swan theater. The flag flying indicates that a performance is on, and the trumpeter at the door of the roof-house gives the same information upon his instrument.

A few more details are necessary to complete the picture of the theater during a performance. The pit into which the stage protrudes should be filled with a mob of honest and dishonest Englishmen with perhaps a few women, these latter none of the best. The audience is in all probability very demonstrative and not at all slow in expressing its likes and dislikes. It is, too, eating nuts and fruit and drinking bottled ale, like a modern crowd at a baseball game, and it welcomes a fight. At either side of the stage is a halberdier who with the staff of his weapon endeavors to bring order when a conflict is imminent. Around the front and sides of the stage also are young gallants who sit upon stools and smoke and by their presence contrive to cut off part of the view of their unfortunate and humbler brothers in the pit.

Interior of the Swan Theater as Drawn from the Contemporary Account of De Witte

The galleries are filled with the more affluent citizens and in one corner of the lower gallery (at the left in De Witte's sketch) is the orchestra.

It is only as one examines the details of the stage in the sketch of De Witte that he begins to appreciate the problem of staging a play under conditions so alien to our modern methods. A Shakespearian play must have appeared a far different thing when performed on the stage with which the

dramatist was familiar than when produced on our modern spectacular stage with its profusion of mechanical devices, its clever effects in lighting and its curtain.

The absence of a front drop curtain, inevitable to a stage surrounded on three sides by an audience, is perhaps the most fundamental difference between the stage of Shakespeare's playhouse and that of our modern theater. This absence of a front curtain involves a number of important points some of which are best considered when we discuss stage proprieties, with the perplexing question of front and back stage and the Elizabethan convention of stage distance.

But there are certain requirements in the technique of the drama which the lack of a front curtain obviously entails. There could not be on the open Elizabethan stage the curtain climaxes which are a common feature of our modern drama. The act could not conclude with a situation. Indeed the Elizabethan drama had no great regard for acts as a dramatic expedient. Many of the first quartos of Shakespeare's plays are without any indication of act division. Such breaks in the plays were the interpolations of later editors, chiefly those of the eighteenth century. The false precedents which they established have been blindly followed by later editors. It is probable therefore that an act in the Elizabethan drama was not an artistic unit of the play. An interval between the acts served simply to rest the spectators and the actors and allow perhaps for some alterations of the stage furnishings. These intervals were filled either by music or by the performances of clowns. The Porter's scene in "Macbeth" so often referred to in these discussions may have served as a stop-gap between acts or to afford opportunity for some popular comedian.

With but a little wait between the acts at the most an Elizabethan play was more unified than our modern plays, which are often but a series of connected dramatic situations. Indeed the Elizabethan plays may be called more narrative than dramatic in the sense which we so often use the word

The Swan Theater. From Visscher's View of London, 1616.

"dramatic." Their object was to tell a story, rapidly and concisely.

The lack of significant division into acts is supplemented by an almost complete lack of scene divisions. The division into scenes of Shakespeare's plays is a later invention, made necessary by the alien conditions of our modern stage. A Shakespearian play often seems broken unnecessarily into small parts. This is not the effect which Shakespeare produced in his own theater. There an act was an uninterrupted succession of dialogues, monologues, and groups. A scene was marked only by the exit of one group and the appearance of another. The act was like a stream, bearing various and dissimilar things upon its surface but fundamentally unified and unceasing in its flow.

The absence of a front curtain accounts for much of the difference between a good Elizabethan play and a good modern play. Each is suited to the conditions under which it was first produced. The widespread belief that Shakespeare is a better poet or poetic dramatist than practical playwright is also to be traced to the incongruity of our modern dramatic experience with the older conditons. When we read Shakespeare we, in imagination, see his plays as they should

be presented and very probably as they were presented. As now produced a Shakespearian play is hampered by conditions of staging utterly alien to it.

The discussion of a front curtain or the lack of it has led into a field more properly the domain of a later article which will discuss the effect of Elizabethan stage conditions upon Shakespeare's work. But it is well to remember as we consider details of stage mechanism, that Shakespeare had to examine each detail with a most careful scrutiny; and it is well to call to mind as we proceed any instances in Shakespeare's play which serve as illustrations of the limitations imposed upon, or the opportunities afforded him by any stage device.

The lack of a front curtain is, as we have pointed out, one of the fundamental differences between the Elizabethan and the modern stage. But that there was some curtain used for certain scenes is obvious from numerous references to it in the plays which have come down to us. In Kyd's "Spanish Tragedy," a play which may have served as the basis for "Hamlet," a direction reads, "*Enter Hieronimo. He knocks up the curtain.*" In the prologue to Peele's "David and Bethseba," the direction reads: "*He draws a curtain and discovers Bethseba and her maid. . . . David sits above.*" In "Romeo and Juliet," Juliet takes the sleeping potion and falls upon the bed within the curtains. In the "Winter's Tale" Hermione is discovered posing as a statue, a direction which implies a draw curtain across some portion of the stage. In "Hamlet" there is an arras behind which Polonius hides and in the "Merry Wives of Windsor" Falstaff hides behind the arras.

These and other instances point conclusively to the fact that a curtain was demanded in some plays. But just where such a curtain was placed is a matter of dispute. In the sketch of the Swan interior discussed above there is no curtain apparent. This omission is accounted for by the theory that the curtain—a draw curtain not a drop curtain—was used only at times. When not required it was furled

close to the pillars on either side of the stage as shown in the Swan sketch. Such a curtain when in use would shut off the rear of the stage only.

In the small cut here reproduced from the play of "Roxana" such a curtain is to be seen. It appears to hang from the lower edge of the overhanging balcony. The use of such a curtain in the staging of a play will be better considered in our study of stage properties and the con-

Early Sketch of English Stage. From the Title Page of the Tragedy "Roxana," published in 1632.

ventions of place and distance; but one more important point remains to be considered before proceeding to those perplexing questions.

The balcony at the rear of the stage must at times have been used in the staging of plays though at other times it may have served to accommodate the orchestra or even spectators. In the balcony scene of "Romeo and Juliet" it would appear to be vital, and many other plays seem to demand its use.

In "King John," where Arthur the blind prince is thrust from the walls of the castle, it seems probable that he jumped from the balcony, which may have been at no great height from the stage—perhaps eight or ten feet. One German critic advances the theory that Arthur jumped from the roof of the theater inasmuch as a ten-foot jump would not have killed him. Such a theory seems improbable, however, for it would have been unnecessarily expensive to hire a new boy for every performance of the play.

Whether the balcony at the back of the stage protruded or whether it was in the nature of a loggia is uncertain. The Swan sketch is non-committal; the small cut from the "Roxana" volume seems to indicate that the balcony protruded and that the draw curtain hung from its lower edge, leaving the space beneath the balcony for use in certain scenes. This latter conception is open to criticism inasmuch as some plays seem to demand that an actor in the balcony witness what takes place behind the draw curtain. If the curtain were hung from the bottom of the balcony such an arrangement would appear to be absurd, for a spectator in the balcony could not possibly see beneath it. A reasonable solution of the difficulty is that the balconies differed in different theaters. Another possible explanation will be considered when we discuss the problem of the front and back stage and the difficulties incident thereto.

The important points to remember with regard to the Elizabethan playhouse as we have thus far briefly considered it, are: 1. The pit of the theater was without a roof. 2. The stage protruded into the pit and was surrounded on three sides by spectators. Other spectators sat on the stage. 3. There was no drop curtain and consequently little division into acts and none into scenes in the modern meaning of "scene." 4. There was a draw curtain, probably at the rear of the stage, which was used in plays such as "Romeo and Juliet" and the "Winter's Tale." 5. The balcony at the rear of the stage was used as a part of the stage scene when occasion demanded.

Representative English Paintings

The Blue Boy

By W. Bertrand Stevens

[Thomas Gainsborough was born at Sudbury in Suffolk in the year 1727. At the age of fifteen he was sent to London, where he studied for four years under Hayman, an historical painter, and in the academy in St. Martin's Lane. It was in the fashionable city of Bath that he first came into prominence as a portrait painter. At the foundation of the Royal Academy he was elected an original member. He died in 1788.]

SINCE the dawn of civilization certain independent minds in all activities have rebelled against the principles promulgated by their contemporaries and predecessors. Skopas astonished the Greek world by introducing into his sculptured groups, an unheard of realism; Donatello, wearied by the fine grace and delicate curves affected by Lorenzo Ghiberti, went to remarkable extremes in an endeavor to be true to nature. It was quite in the order of things, then, that Thomas Gainsborough should take exception to certain statements made by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

The characters of these rival portrait painters show a marked contrast. Reynolds was prudent, methodical, diligent and a lover of knowledge; Gainsborough was seldom guided by a sense of duty, he lacked business foresight and cared for no knowledge save that which directly concerned his art. In their styles of workmanship, the difference lies largely in the application of color. In his Eighth Discourse Reynolds says:

It ought to be indispensably observed that the masses of light in a picture be always of a warm mellow color, yellow, red, or a yellowish white and that the blue, the gray or the green color be kept almost entirely out of the masses and be used only to support and set off these warm colors, and for this purpose a small proportion of cold colors will be sufficient. Let this conduct be reversed, let the light be cold and the surrounding colors warm and it will be out of the power of art even in the hands of Rubens or Titian, to make a picture splendid and harmonious.

Whether or not Gainsborough painted any one picture to refute this statement is an open question, but it is certain that he realized that Sir Joshua was in error and pictures

can be taken from almost any stage of his work which are in direct opposition to this teaching. In some of his finest canvases he used the so-called "cold colors" for his heavy masses. The "Blue Boy" was long considered to have been conceived as a direct reply to the Eighth Discourse, but later critics believe that the picture was painted several years before that work was written. Nevertheless it violates nearly all the principles which the Discourse aimed to teach.

No unanimous conclusions regarding the "Blue Boy" have ever been reached. It is probably a portrait of Jonathan Buttall, the son of a wealthy ironmonger of London. The figure is nearly life-size and is dressed entirely in blue (the chief of Reynolds' "cold colors") in a costume of about 1646. This is perhaps the most finely balanced of any of Gainsborough's works. To be sure, we miss a lightness and freedom that fill his later productions and that we have come to expect as a part of the artist, but we find instead a certain courtly grace and thoughtful seriousness that prevent the picture from descending to the level of commonplace portraiture. The color is extremely rich and the whole composition shows a unity that gives no indication of that incapacity to reason consecutively of which the artist accuses himself in one of his letters.

As a painter, using the word in its technical sense, Gainsborough ranks with Titian, Rubens, and Velasquez. In disposition of color, light, and shade and the judicious use of his material, he proved himself one of the greatest masters of painting in all schools of art. It is true that he had his faults; his drawing was often bad and his work lacks loftiness of purpose. But let us forget this and enter into the wonderful fairyland that he opens up to us.

There are three versions of the "Blue Boy," but the one in the collection of the Duke of Westminster is probably the original. It is not known whether those versions owned by Mr. George Hearn and the Count de Castellane are replicas by the artist himself or simply copies of the original painting.

The Blue Boy by Gainsborough
In the Duke of Westminster's Collection.

The Ancoats Brotherhood

By Katharine Coman

MANCHESTER is the center of the English cotton manufacture. The surrounding region within a radius of ten miles from the Exchange is given over to this branch of the textile industry. Spinning mills, weaving mills, bleacheries and dye-works loom on every hand. All the wage-earners, men, women, and children, are more or less directly concerned in the production of England's great staple. Manchester itself serves as market town to the cotton district. Huge warehouses wall in the streets and darken the passages. Vans laden with bales of raw cotton or packages of muslins and ginghams crowd the thoroughfares. The smoke of factory chimneys overhangs the town like a pall. Out into the suburbs stretch miles of unsightly brick cottages, each adding its driblet of smoke to the general murk. The garden plots are sorry spectacles. No green thing flourishes under the stifling drizzle of carbon. The skies contribute their daily quota of mist or rain and convert the smoke-laden atmosphere into one all-pervading smirch. Under such conditions, cleanliness is only to be had at cost of infinite labor. Gaiety, courage, ambition ooze away at the finger tips. Physical, mental and moral depression seem inevitable. The working people of Manchester are prone to be sallow, stunted and spiritless. Wages are good and employment fairly steady. The factory acts prescribe a fifty-four hour week for women and young persons, and forbid the employment of children under fourteen years. The schools are excellent and the law requires that child operatives attend school half of each working day. There are no beggars and no slums in Manchester. But neither physical comfort nor the ability to read and write can restore to this people, disinherited of sunshine and green fields the priceless gift of joy. Condemned to spend their lives in an environment of squalid ugliness, they have lost the trick of gladness, the spur of aspiration.

Fifty years ago Ancoats was a pleasant residential sub-

urb of the cotton metropolis, but it has been overwhelmed by the rising tide of industry, and the prosperous suburb has become a dreary working-class quarter. The old residents are fled, the family mansions are abandoned, and the place is given over to the proletariate. Such voluntary exiles are likely to think only of the personal loss and inconvenience consequent on the surrender of old homes and connections, but one at least of the Ancoats refugees has followed the subsequent fortunes of his birthplace with wistful sympathy. Charles Rowley, a man of culture and genius, the friend of William Morris, Walter Crane, and Bernard Shaw, a man bred to enjoy the highest things in art and literature, was led to ponder on the contrast between his spiritual inheritance and that of his successors in Ancoats. So pondering, he determined to share with them the treasures of the mind—so cheap and yet so difficult to attain. Thirty years ago, before Toynbee Hall was built or the Neighborhood Guild organized in London, Mr. Rowley inaugurated in Manchester that endeavor of the privileged to convey to the unprivileged classes something of their own intellectual resources.

The Ancoats Recreation Committee began its work by providing band music in Philips Park on summer evenings. So great was the appreciation of these open-air concerts that they came to be recognized as a public necessity. The Manchester Town Council assumed financial responsibility for them, and they have ever since been maintained, not only in Ancoats, but in all parts of Manchester. The Committee then set about the task of evoking beauty in the homes of the people by the offer of prizes for the best kept cottages and the most tasteful window gardens. Many a discouraged housewife came to realize that beauty as well as charity begins at home. Art exhibitions followed, in which some of the best pictures that the art lovers of Manchester could offer, as well as some of the best handicraft, were placed before the people. The object of rendering men discontented with squalor and ugliness was in some measure achieved. Right standards in art are not the peculiar posses-

sion of the connoisseurs. Beauty in form, color, composition, is as evident to the ignorant as to the learned once the man is rid of the prejudice of custom and fashion. The evident desire of the denizens of Ancoats for recreation of the best sort led the committee to venture next on lecture courses. These were successful from the start and now form the principal feature of the winter program. Some of the best lecturers from Oxford and other universities have given their services, returning year after year till they come as personal friends to a people they know and understand. Sunday afternoon audiences of from five hundred to a thousand men and women gather to listen to such speakers as M. E. Sadler, Prince Kropotkin, Walter Crane, Ford Madox Brown, Frederic Harrison, York Powell, and Bishop Stubbs. The subjects are chosen from the fields of economics, history, literature, science and art. Workingmen are keen for information having direct and practical bearing on their own lives. Natural phenomena, industrial and political problems or ethical discussion will hold their attention and not infrequently elicit debate. The program of 1901, for example, presented a series of notable biographies: Stevenson's "Letters," the "Life of Huxley," "Prince Kropotkin's Autobiography," the "Life of William Morris," Maeterlinck's "Life of the Bee," the "Life and Letters of Lord Tennyson," etc. The program of last spring savored rather more of economic interest: "The Working-woman's Future Hope," "The Theory and Practice of a Labor Party," "The Bookbinder's Craft," "Britain and the Colored Races under her Charge," "Sir Thomas More." At the last lecture was distributed a very good reproduction of Holbein's portrait of the martyred statesman, now preserved at Windsor. The committee regards the steady support given these lecture courses as a complete vindication of their principle: "Aim only at the best."

These Sunday afternoon meetings have unmistakably demonstrated the fact that working folk have a desire to know something of the noblest which has been thought, said

Truly Yours
Charles Rowley

A Pen Sketch of Mr. Charles Rowley, the Manchester Philanthropist

and done in the world. Every one who knows the members of this body of men and women will also know that the average of intelligence is as high here as anywhere else. The committee have never recognized class distinctions, they have not catered to the working class or any other class, but they are convinced that culture is as essential for the full life to work folk as it is to people of means and leisure. With this in mind, the committee have provided the best they could get, and it has been appreciated.

No insignificant feature of the entertainment offered by the committee is the annual program. Each is a study in attractiveness. Serious quotations, humorous and poetic, are tucked into the margins and interstices of the more formal matter. An amusing cut from *Punch* or a burlesque sketch of Mr. Rowley enliven the somewhat prosaic pages of dates and lecture subjects. This year's pamphlet reproduces with rare delicacy of finish a series of studies by Burne-Jones with an introductory note by Mr. Rowley, who points out that even a genius attains beauty only by taking pains. The programs also offer suggestive notes on books and reading from the same friendly hand.

The enterprises of the Recreation Committee have multiplied as various needs became apparent. Dramatic societies, choral societies, debating societies, a mother's club, classes in literature, history, political economy, English composition, —these activities might be duplicated in a score of English settlements. The feature emphasized at Ancoats is the element of personal service—the kindling influence of mind on mind. This is illustrated in the reading circles, where small groups of earnest men read and discuss under the guidance of a skilful leader such books as Goethe's "Faust" and the "Meditations" of Marcus Aurelius.

Nor is the original recreative aim lost sight of in the intellectual development. During the winter months are held a series of five "at homes" where dancing and light refreshments attract the younger and less serious members of the community. The indoor program of the Recreation Committee is highly successful, but its outdoor work is no less

potent for good. A Cycling Club and a Rambling Club have been organized for the sake of facilitating excursions into the unspoiled country that lies roundabout the cotton district. Derbyshire and the Peak are but two hours distant by rail. The Cheshire hills and the Lancashire coast may be reached in less time. The mountains of Wales are within the compass of a Saturday afternoon. The program for 1906 announces (between May and September) a list of eighteen rambles to occupy a half day, whole day, or week end as the case may be. An experienced leader makes himself responsible for the business arrangements of each trip including railroad tickets and the inevitable four o'clock tea. The Cycling Club announces a list of thirty Saturday and as many Sunday runs. The English have not abandoned the use of the bicycle, that cheapest, simplest and most exhilarating means of locomotion. By its aid not only Cheshire, Derbyshire, and the seacoast, but the Lake District, that Mecca of English tourists, is brought within reach of the Black Country's denizens. Think what it must mean to the fagged clerk or half-stifled operative to look forward through the weary week to a Saturday's spin through Dovedale or Macclesfield Forest. Occasionally European excursions are made under the same benevolent auspices. Such parties are "personally conducted" by some experienced friend and traveling expenses are reduced to the minimum. For last Easter week a "Holland Round,"—The Hague, Amsterdam, Leyden and Scheveningen was advertised at a total cost of £4 5s. In 1905 the Easter excursion covered Bristol, Glastonbury, Wells, and Bath, and cost but £3. This quotation from a recent letter of Mr. Rowley's gives the spirit of the work:

Please note we are not a "Settlement." We work from ourselves with one aim to find out and enjoy the best in each other and in all the rest. So we have no patronage and we don't stiffen into uninterestingness. The best is good enough for us, and we can get it though we are only work folk. It is no use sending you any photographs of Ancoats—it is the same dreariness one finds in New York or Boston or

A Design for the Ancoats Brotherhood

Chicago at their worst, but even there not so bad as I have seen in Naples, Cairo, Joppa, or Jerusalem. The residuum everywhere is hopeless—so is the rich, idle scum, the wasters. Let us try to prevent the formation of either and both. It can be done—it is our new quest. All else is useless, as history proves. That being done, sensible, good-hearted folk may begin to enjoy our planet.

The Committee was not content to provide these things *deus ex machina* fashion from above. More than a dozen years ago Mr. Rowley and the friends most closely associated with him undertook to render the work self-supporting, not so much in the financial as in the personal sense. They aimed to base the activities that had grown up under the auspices of the Recreation Committee on the associated effort of all the men and women concerned. With this in view the Ancoats Brotherhood was formed. It was hoped that such coöperation would evoke the instinct of fellowship—the consciousness of the deep spiritual values engendered in common effort and common pleasure.

Distinctions of class wealth, and creed are set aside—a thing far more difficult in England than with us. Any person may become a member of the brotherhood by paying an annual contribution of not less than a shilling. No questions of any kind are asked. All who care for the interests of the Brotherhood are welcome. The membership fluctuates somewhat from year to year, but averages eight hundred and fifty. The finances of the organization seem to be very simple. Expenses are light. New Islington Hall, where all meetings are held, belongs to the Corporation of Manchester and is secured at a low rent. Membership fees, private subscriptions, collections, etc., amount to some $800 a year and serve to cover all expenses with a small balance to the good. To quote from a report of the Committee:

We are a nondescript lot. . . . We have among our members representatives of all creeds and all beliefs, religious, social and political. We have Christians, and Jews, Agnostics and Freethinkers, Socialists and so-called Anarchists, Tories and Radicals, and we get along very well together. These various types are sure to act and react on

each other and we think the brotherly combination is beneficial to all.

The expectations of the promoters of this deeper movement have been realized in the Sunday morning conference where the more serious men gather for the free discussion of vital social problems. Among the subjects of the year past we note as "The Teaching of Patriotism," "The Ethics of Citizenship," "Hopes and Fears for Workfolk." (This last discussion was led by Ben Tillett.) The quotation from Dr. Johnson with which this special program closes has been well exemplified in these Brotherhood Sunday mornings:

There is great solace in talk. We—you and I—are shipwrecked on a wave-swept rock. At any moment one or other of us, perhaps both, may be carried out to sea and lost. For the time being we have a modicum of light and warmth, of meat and drink. Let us constitute ourselves a club, stretch out our legs, and talk. We have minds, memories, valued experiences, different opinions. Sir, let us talk, not as men who mock at fate, not with coarse speech or foul tongue, but with a manly mixture of the gloom that admits the inevitable, and the merriment that observes the incongruous. Thus talking we shall learn to love one another, not sentimentally but fundamentally.

The ultimate object of the Brotherhood strikes deeper than recreation, deeper than education, deeper even than moral upbuilding of the individual man; it is fellowship, the mutual helpfulness and cheer that arise out of the realization of a common need and a common hope. In such comradeship men break through the barriers of class and creed, and enter upon the commonwealth of fraternal democracy. To quote again a program quotation from Morris' "Dream of John Ball:"

Forsooth, brothers Fellowship is Heaven and lack of Fellowship is hell; Fellowship is life and lack of Fellowship is death; and the deeds ye do upon earth it is for Fellowship's sake that ye do them, and the life that is in it, that shall live on forever and each one of you part of it, while many a man's life upon the earth from the earth shall wane.

Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are elevated, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are

A Cartoon of Charles Rowley

amiable, whatsoever things are of good report: if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, have these in your mind, let your thoughts run upon these.

To see Mr. Rowley walk along the street is to understand what this word of the great English socialist means. For thirty years this man has been friend, counsellor, leader to the people of Ancoats. No man or boy but knows him for a friend and finds in his face inspiration and cheer. The secret of this abiding influence may be found not so much in what Mr. Rowley does as what he is. This leader gives always the best that he has or can produce. To quote his own words: "All is vanity but the best of the best." Further, he keeps steadily uppermost the spiritual aspects of life.

Charles Rowley's crusade against degradation well exemplifies the fore-word on the Brotherhood program for 1906 and '07:

You will do the greatest service to the state if you shall raise, not the roofs of the houses, but the souls of the citizens; for it is better that great souls should dwell in small houses, rather than for mean slaves to lurk in great houses.

Taken all in all it is a lifework that has gone far toward redeeming Manchester from sordid ugliness and dreary work-a-day monotony into a patriotic community of aspiring men. Manchester, the home of the school of *laissez-faire* economists, has gone farther than any American city in the way of public service for the people.

The Vesper Hour*

A Little Sanctuary

By Chancellor John H. Vincent

IT is a little book. It may be an imaginary book or one may carry it in his pocket, having made it himself. There are blank pages in it. But all are not blank. The book has a singular title—a title taken from a text of Holy Writ—"A Little Sanctuary." The passage in the prophecy of Ezekiel reads as follows: "Thus saith the Lord God; Although I have cast them off among the heathen, and although I have scattered them among the countries, yet will I be to them *a little sanctuary* in the countries where they shall come." *Ezekiel 11, 16.* This passage (and especially the figure of "the little sanctuary") gives the title to the tiny booklet here described. It is meant to be a means of grace. It may be a creation of the imagination or a visible and tangible reminder of God and His nearness. The little book may contain a few radical principles, precious promises and compact prayers. It may suggest the fact of God as ever present and accessible. A great church building does that. The Jewish tabernacle and afterward the Temple did that. But they no longer exist. The Bible fulfils that mission now and the little book I describe may turn one's thoughts toward that great Book and towards God Himself who is the sanctuary of the soul. One takes this little book in hand and in some quiet place—in the woods, in a cozy corner, in a private room—door closed and locked—the book becomes a simple sign and symbol of the "little sanctuary" God has promised to be to you, to me, to any one who will turn toward Him with desire and confidence. Indeed the "little sanctuary" may be opportunity for privacy in a crowd—in hotel, waiting room or railway train; and he has mastered a great secret

* The Vesper Hour, contributed to THE CHAUTAUQUAN each month by Chancellor Vincent, continues the ministries of Chautauqua's Vesper Service throughout the year.

who has learned how to turn aside from all worldly cares and shut himself in with God as in a sanctuary.

To every sincere and reverent soul the great God is everywhere and always "as a little sanctuary." Every true believer has with him wherever he goes in the enfolding presence of God his own little house of prayer. Thus wherever he is, his church is represented—in bedroom, cellar, kitchen, roadside, crowded street-car—lonely forest ramble—there in solitude or multitude he may hear the Lord's own words: "I will be to them as a little sanctuary." At all times and in all places he may "practise the presence of God."

The time is in all probability coming when by wireless telegraphy we may converse at will with absent friends, however remote. Even now the telephone works wonders. But we do not need telephone or wireless telegraphy to commune with God. He is here—"a little sanctuary." You may shut yourself up with Him at any time, anywhere, and the oftener you do it the better. We do go to church but *we may go to church instead of going to God.* We ought to do the one periodically that we may do the other habitually. We may make the church a place for art, for dress, for musical, ritualistic, and social enjoyment. We may feel the spell of the esthetic and fancy it a religious and spiritual impression. The thrill, the awe, the rapture of public worship may have no real element of religion in it. It may give a present pleasant subjective experience, but it may not at all help us in this world of sin to pillow ourselves for rest and comfort on God. And it may not guarantee strong moral sense and true courage and patience as God becomes to us "a little sanctuary" in the struggle of life.

The devout and thoughtful soul needs aloneness with God, that all who participate in social and public worship may be, first of all, inspired units. The preacher himself in the "little sanctuary"; the singers, each one, in quartet or chorus at home with God; every member of the congregation prepared for the public offices of religion by personal, habitual communion with God in the "little sanctuary" with

thoughtfulness, heart-searching secret confession and the prayer of faith. How effective would public service become if individual participants were thus prepared! And is this impracticable? If so of what value is the Christian faith to its professors? And of what practical service can the church be to the world to which it comes with a divine commission?

What a blessed thing it is to have personal access to God; to have a private sanctuary filled with echoes of the "exceeding great and precious promises" of Scripture; to be able to find strength and comfort when everything seems to go away—when friends fail or falter, when skies grow dark, when pain or fear comes, when hope is for a time clouded and when in one's own heart the flame of celestial love burns low. But this is our Gospel. This is the message of the church to the world. It was because of this that our Bible was first lived out in biography and history and written out in human and divine literature. It is a great thing to have the Heart of the Universe to go to when graves open and close and hearts that trusted us and that we trusted cease to throb in response to our appeals. But this is our Gospel! It means nothing or it means everything—the "little sanctuary" open to everyone and God's presence assured!

The fact that all this spiritual possibility deals with the realm invisible only enhances the charm of it. One might easily learn to worship a holy place, a holy thing, a holy symbol a holy picture and become an idolater. "Close your book, my child," said a mother to her daughter. "Don't keep your eyes fixed on the letters and words. Look enough to catch them and then close both book and eyes. Soon by this process you will know without the book." God's word is given in order to school us in faith. We read, exercise faith, think, remember, appropriate. We measure our spiritual possibilities by recalling "the exceeding great and precious promises" of God.

Come back, O hesitant believer, to your "little sanctuary!" Accept God's offer! You are only like a drop of dew, but the sun can make you glorious with his light!

The Hudson's Bay Company*

In the history of the world only one corporate company has maintained empire over an area as large as Europe. Only one corporate company has lived up to its constitution for nearly three centuries. Only one company's sway has been so beneficent that its profits have stood in exact proportion to the well-being of its subjects. Indeed, few armies can boast a rank and file of men who never once retreated in three hundred years, whose lives, generation after generation, were one long bivouac of hardship, of danger, of ambushed death, of grim purpose, of silent achievement.

Such was the company of "Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay," as the charter of 1670 designated them. Such is the Hudson's Bay Company today still trading with savages in the white wilderness of the north as it was when Charles II granted a royal charter for the fur trade to his cousin Prince Rupert.

Governors and chief factors have changed with the changing centuries; but the character of the company's personnel has never changed. Prince Rupert, the first governor, was succeeded by the Duke of York (James II); and the royal governor by a long line of distinguished public men down to Lord Strathcona, the present governor, and C. C. Chipman, the chief commissioner or executive officer. All have been men of noted achievement, often in touch with the Crown, always with that passion for executive and mastery of difficulty which exults most when the conflict is keenest.

Latterly the word "adventurer" has fallen in such evil repute, it may scarcely be applied to living actors. But using it in the old-time sense of militant hero, what cavalier of gold braid and spurs could be more of an adventurer than young Donald Smith who traded in the desolate wastes of Labrador, spending seventeen years in the hardest field of the fur company, tramping on snow-shoes half the width of a continent, camping where night overtook him under blanketing of snow-drifts, who rose step by step from trader on the east coast to commissioner on the west? And this Donald Smith became Lord Strathcona, the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

*From "The Story of the Trapper," by Agnes C. Laut. $1.25. Appleton & Co.: New York.

Men bold in action and conservative in traditions have ruled the company. The governor resident in England is now represented by the chief commissioner, who in turn is represented at each of the many inland forts by a chief factor of the district. Nominally, the fur trader's northern realm is governed by the Parliament of Canada. Virtually, the chief factor rules as autocratically today as he did before the Canadian Government took over the proprietary rights of the fur company.

The only way to get an accurate idea of the size of the kingdom ruled by these monarchs of the lonely wastes is by comparison.

Take a map of North America. On the east is Labrador, a peninsula as vast as Germany and Holland and Belgium and half of France. On the coast and across the unknown interior are the magical letters H. B. C., meaning Hudson's Bay Company fort (past or present), a little whitewashed square with eighteen-foot posts planted picket-wise for a wall, match-box bastions loopholed for musketry, a barracks-like structure across the court-yard with a high lookout of some sort near the gate. Here some trader with wife and children and staff of Indian servants has held his own against savagery and desolating loneliess. In one of these forts Lord Strathcona passed his youth.

. . . . . .

Again to the map. Between Hudson Bay and the Rocky Mountains stretches an American Siberia—the Barren Lands. Here, too, on every important waterway, Athabasca and the Liard and the MacKenzie into the land of winter night and midnight sun, extend Hudson's Bay Company posts. We think of these northern streams as ice-jammed, sluggish currents, with mean log villages on their banks. The fur posts of the sub-arctics are not imposing with picket fences in place of stockades, for no French foe was feared here. But the MacKenzie River is one of the longest in the world, with two tributaries each more than 1,000 miles in length. It has a width of a mile, and a succession of rapids that rival the St. Lawrence, and palisaded banks higher than the Hudson River's, and half a dozen lakes into one of which you could drop two New England states without raising a sand bar.

The map again. Between the prairie and the Pacific Ocean is a wilderness of peaks, a Switzerland stretched into half the length of a continent. Here, too, like eagle nests in rocky fastnesses, are fur posts.

Such is the realm of the Hudson's Bay Company today.

. . . . . .

The Canadian Government now exercises judicial functions; but where less than 700 mounted police patrol a territory as large as Siberia, the company's factor is still the chief representative of

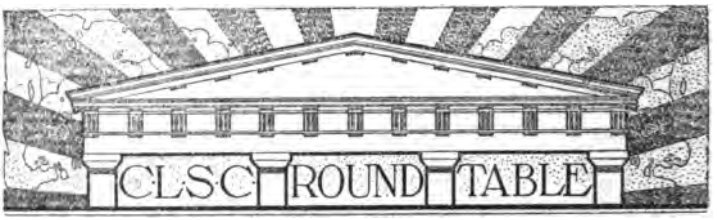
the law's power. Times without number under the old *régime* has a Hudson's Bay officer set out alone and tracked an Indian murderer to hidden fastness, there to arrest him or shoot him dead on the spot; because if the murder went unpunished that mysterious impulse to kill which is rife in the savage heart as in the wolf's would work its havoc unchecked.

Just as surely as "the sun rises and the rivers flow" the savage knows when the hunt fails he will receive help from the Hudson's Bay officer. But just as surely he knows if he commits any crime that same unbending, fearless white man will pursue—and pursue—and pursue guilt to the death. One case is on record of a trader thrashing an Indian within an inch of his life for impudence to officers two or three years before. Of course, the vendetta may cut both ways, the Indian treasuring vengeance in his heart till he can wreak it. That is an added reason why the white man's justice must be unimpeachable. *"Pro pelle cutem,"* says the motto of the company arms. Without flippancy it might be said, "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," as well as "A skin for a skin"—which explains the freedom from crime among northern Indians.

And who are the subjects living under this Mosaic paternalism?

Stunted Eskimo of the Far North, creatures as amphibious as the seals whose coats they wear, with the lusterless eyes of dwarfed intelligence and the agility of seal flippers as they whisk double-bladed paddles from side to side of the darting kyacks; wandering Montagnais from the domed hills of Labrador, lonely and sad and silent as the naked desolation of their rugged land; Ojibways soft-voiced as the forest glooms in that vast land of spruce tangle north of the Great Lakes; Crees and Sioux from the plains, cunning with the stealth of creatures that have hunted and been hunted on the shelterless prairie; Blackfeet and Crows, game birds of the foothills that have harried all other tribes for tribute, keen-eyed as the eagles on the mountains behind them, glorying in war as the finest kind of hunting; mountain tribes—Stonies, Kootenais, Shoshonies—splendid types of manhood because only the fittest can survive the hardships of the mountains; coast Indians, Chinook and Chilcoot—low and lazy because the great rivers feed them with salmon and they have no need to work.

Over these lawless Arabs of the New World wilderness the Hudson's Bay Company has ruled for two and a half centuries with smaller loss of life in the aggregate than the railways of the United States cause in a single year.



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CONCERNING OUR READING JOURNEY

Miss Katharine Lee Bates whose letters in the September Round Table reported the early stages of her journey in behalf of Chautauqua, writes from Paris that the Reading Journey articles are well under way and are to be finished while she lingers in Switzerland. Her comments on the various possible methods of travel in England indicate her adaptability to terrestrial conditions:

"We went into each of the fifteen counties, and though we had to leave much unseen that we would have liked to see, we did contrive to get in the principal points. It was a very stimulating and, to me, a very recreative summer. . . . We journeyed all the way from Gretna Green to Land's End and made due pilgrimage to the literary shrines. The articles will tell you all about it! . . . We have used all sorts of conveyances—trains, landaus, victorias, steamers, rowboats, pony-carts, and even the automobile, oh, and coaches, of course, and wagonettes, and busses and ferry-boats,—but the method we finally found most feasible in that dear, old-fashioned country was *posting*. We would take a carriage at one town and drive to the next. There is no charge for the return, and it is the traditional English way. Nor is it very expensive, for the island is a little one and the distances are short. Light luggage could be carried with us."

QUESTIONS ON ENGLISH VERSUS AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

Much interest will be added to our study of Professor Moran's "The English Government" if we make frequent

comparisons with our own political methods, and the following questions may prove helpful in following out such comparisons. Even if your Circle has no library facilities, there is in every community, however small, likely to be some one particularly interested in political affairs who can throw some light on the subject. Get all the help you can from members of your community. It is good for the community and good for the Circle. These questions supplement chapters XII-XIV.

What persons in America have not the right of suffrage? What cities in America have representatives in Congress and how many? In what ways is American suffrage superior to English? What are the advantages of allowing a member of the House to live outside the district which he represents? What is the place of women in English politics?

What are the hours of meeting of the American Congress? How many make a quorum in the House of Representatives? What is the payment of members of Congress and cabinet members? How are debates, etc., in the House of Representatives reported? What is the difference between the English and the American Speaker? Difference in personnel between the House of Commons and the House of Representatives? Some famous Speakers of the House of Commons.

Do we have anything in America corresponding to "Speech from the Throne" and the Address in reply? How does Parliament compare with our Congress in absolute power? How often does the American Congress have to meet? How does the President communicate with Congress? How do the Senate and House of Representatives communicate with each other? What is the nature of bills for the "restitution of honor and blood"? Compare the rules of debate, etc., in House of Commons and in House of Representatives. Have we anything analogous to petitioning? Which is more truly representative of public opinion, Parliament or Congress?

THE CLASS OF 1907

In every part of the country members of the Class of 1907 are already looking forward to next summer which is to mark the completion of their four year's course. The class has a fine organization and though many readers will not be able to graduate at Chautauqua or at other Chautauquas, every member may share in the class spirit and contribute to it. The following letter from the President will be read with interest:

To the Members of the Class of 1907, Greeting:

At this, the auspicious opening of our last year as undergraduates of the C. L. S. C., we may well pause to consider briefly

the prospect which presents itself ahead of us, as we journey through the fields of England made sacred to us by countless literary and historical associations. As we began with American writers and thinkers, it is not unfitting that we return to the literature of our forefathers, and thus again remind ourselves of our debt to Old England, symbolized in our class name, Washingtonians, which we adopted because of the coincidence of our graduation with the third centennial of the founding of Jamestown, Virginia, the state which gave us the first president of the United States.

This summer at the opening of the Schools at Chautauqua, the speaker of the occasion, emphasized the importance of learning to interpret the printed page; that is, to read critically and understandingly, with the imagination as well as the intellect, so as to vitalize the thought, and make it a part of our intellectual working material.

With our maturer years and experience in the world, we have learned how to be our own teachers and critics, and we have learned, it is to be hoped, to do independent reading and thinking, and to demand reasons and authorities for statements of fact, so that in our C. L. S. C. reading we must use these experiences freely, and go beyond our little manual of literature to the writers and thinkers themselves, and delve more deeply in the fields of history than is required in the compendia offered in the course.

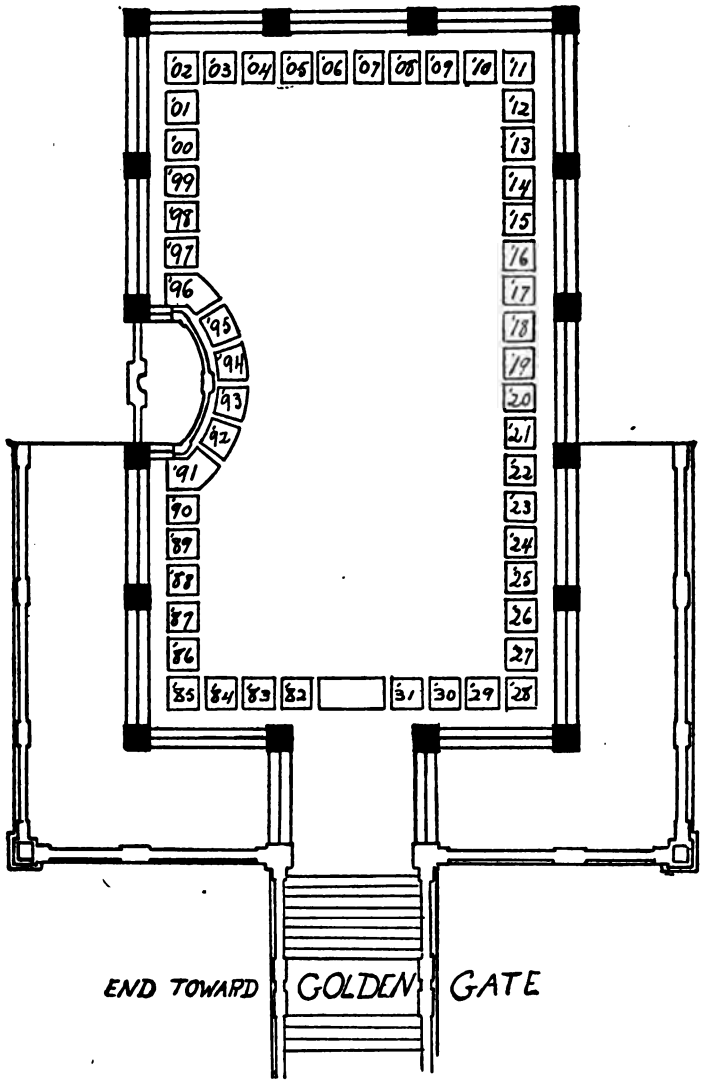
Let every reader who plans to complete the course in 1907 plan to come to Chautauqua and graduate, and meet his classmates, and feel the uplift of that inspiring place.

Yours truly,

Princeton, New Jersey, 1906. GEORGE DWIGHT KELLOGG.

PAVEMENT DECORATION FOR THE NEW HALL

The accompanying floor plan of the new Hall of Philosophy at Chautauqua shows the proposed arrangement for commemorating the C. L. S. C. classes in their historic order. Many classes have already contributed funds to provide for particular features of the Hall, such as columns, Athenian Watch Fires, the great stairway, etc., but the proposed mosaics will insure to every class up to the fiftieth a share in beautifying the Hall and a place where its own individuality may be commemorated. Each section will be filled in with a mosaic pattern showing the name, year, and emblem of the class. The design will be worked out under the direction of the architect so that the whole effect may be harmonious. The cost of each section has been fixed at one hundred dollars which can be raised as the classes find convenient. The Class of '82, the first class, will have its section filled next summer when it celebrates its twenty-fifth anniversary. The 1910's are



Floor Plan of the New Hall of Philosophy, Showing Class Mosaics

proud of the fact that their mosaic fund was also raised this summer. Other classes will be ready to report in the near future and when the Golden Anniversary of the C. L. S. C. takes place in 1928 the fiftieth class will have made the historic pattern complete.

For the courses announced on page 250 of the October CHAUTAUQUAN, memoranda are provided. A fee of fifty cents for each course will entitle the student to memoranda and a seal upon completion of the work.

The members of the Guild of the Seven Seals at Chautauqua this summer held several delightful social gatherings and are anxious to bring this important "order" of the C. L. S. C. to the attention of others. Fourteen seals make one a member of the Guild and the highest order of all, that of forty-nine seals, is to be established this year. Notes of the progress of the Guild will appear in the Round Table frequently and members are asked to report to the Secretary both the number of seals that they have earned and the nature of their present studies. No member of the Guild can think of resting on past honors. The address of the Secretary is Miss M. E. Landfear, 125 St. John street, New Haven, Conn.

Members of all C. L. S. C. Classes will be interested in the "mosaic" funds with which each class is to help beautify the pavement of the new Hall. Write a note to your class president or to the treasurer, whose addresses you will find in the C. L. S. C. Directory in the October CHAUTAUQUAN and see how your class fund is coming on. There is no time limit for raising this amount. As each fund is completed the "mosaic" will be set in place. The Hall has been built by gifts, both large and small, of thousands of Chautauquans and thousands more of such gifts will be added to it.

FOR THE 1910'S—AND OTHERS

It is well to remind new members that the answering of review questions either oral or written is not required. The questions in THE CHAUTAUQUAN and Membership Book are for your convenience. Those on sheets with spaces for answers give an opportunity to add seals to your diploma, but they are not required. You will notice on the first page of the *detached* section of memoranda which accompanies the Membership Book that there is a form of application for certificate. If you do not care to fill out the questions on the "Memoranda," fill out this form and send it in at the close of the year and the certificate will be mailed to you. Requirements are few and possibilities many in the C. L. S. C.

C. L. S. C. MEMORIAL DAYS

OPENING DAY—October 1.
BRYANT DAY—November 3.
SPECIAL SUNDAY—November, second Sunday.
MILTON DAY—December 9.
COLLEGE DAY—January, last Thursday.
LANIER DAY—February 3.
SPECIAL SUNDAY—February, second Sunday.
LONGFELLOW DAY—February 27.
SHAKESPEARE DAY—April 23.
ADDISON DAY—May 1.
SPECIAL SUNDAY—May, second Sunday.
INTERNATIONAL PEACE DAY—May 18.
SPECIAL SUNDAY—July, second Sunday.
INAUGURATION DAY—August, first Saturday after first Tuesday.
ST. PAUL'S DAY—August, second Saturday after first Tuesday.
RECOGNITION DAY—August, third Wednesday.

C. L. S. C. MOTTOES

"We study the Word and the Works of God."
"Let us Keep Our Heavenly Father in the Midst."
"Never be Discouraged."

OUTLINE OF REQUIRED READING FOR DECEMBER

FIRST WEEK

Required Books: "The English Government." Chapter XII. "What is Shakespeare?" Chapter IV. Romeo and Juliet, Acts I and II.

SECOND WEEK

In THE CHAUTAUQUAN: "The Dominion of Canada."
Required Books: "The English Government." Chapter XIII. "What is Shakespeare?" Chapter IV. Romeo and Juliet, Act III.

THIRD WEEK

In THE CHAUTAUQUAN: "The Road to the East."
Required Books: "The English Government." Chapter XIV. "What is Shakespeare?" Chapter IV. Romeo and Juliet, Act IV.

FOURTH WEEK

In THE CHAUTAUQUAN: "The Perils and Rewards of Empire."
Required Books: "The English Government." Chapter XIV. "What is Shakespeare?" Chapter IV. Romeo and Juliet, Act V.

FIFTH WEEK—VACATION

SUGGESTIVE PROGRAMS FOR LOCAL CIRCLES

The discussion of the English House of Commons in our reading for this month will constantly raise the question of American as compared with English methods. The Circle can get a great deal of help by inviting to each meeting for this month some man well acquainted with American political methods—a lawyer, teacher of history, or other public-spirited citizen. Let him look over beforehand the chapter assigned for the lesson and ask him to lead the discussion. The questions in the Membership Book cover merely the text of the book itself, but other questions suggested by the chapter and not answered in it will be found in the Round Table.

FIRST WEEK

Brief Oral Reports: American College Presidents alluded to on page 237 in "The English Government" showing the nature of the service rendered by each to the state.
Discussion of Chapter XII in "The English Government."
Reading: Selections from "Our English Cousins," R. H. Davis. "Marcella," Mrs. Humphry Ward. Book III. chapters VIII and IX, or from account of The Primrose League, *Littell's Liv. Age*, 170:407.
Reading: Selections from "The Theaters of Elizabeth's London" in this magazine.
Roll-call: Quotations from Romeo and Juliet.

SECOND WEEK

Oral Reports: "Suggestive Questions" (see Round Table) or Review of Chapter XIII in "The English Government."
Debate: Resolved, That members of Parliament should not be paid for their services.
Review article on "The Dominion of Canada."
Reading: Selection from "The Story of the Trapper." (See The Library Shelf in this magazine.)
Study of Romeo and Juliet, Act III.
Roll-call: Quotations from Romeo and Juliet.

THIRD WEEK

Oral reports on "Suggestive Questions" or on current events relating to England.
Review of Chapter XIV in "The English Government."
Oral Report: Striking features of the "Ancoats Brotherhood."
Map Review with questions on "The Road to the East."
Discussion: Is there any parallel between English occupation of Egypt and American occupation of Cuba?
Study of Romeo and Juliet. Act IV.
Roll-call: Quotations from Romeo and Juliet.

FOURTH WEEK

Review of Chapter in THE CHAUTAUQUAN on "The Perils and Rewards of Empire."
Discussion: Resolved, That the perils of Empire are greater than the rewards.
Reading: Selection from Kipling's "Seven Seas" (on the British Empire), or "Wee Willie Winkie" by the same author.
Study of Romeo and Juliet, Act V.
Roll-call: Quotations from Romeo and Juliet.

THE TRAVEL CLUB

The Travel Club programs will be numbered consecutively throughout the course. In general there will be from two to four each month.

In these Travel Club programs it is assumed that as the student or club is using THE CHAUTAUQUAN Reading Journey series as a background for very detailed study of this section of England, books of reference will be secured. Therefore many books will be alluded to from which clubs can select those which are available or can perhaps induce their local libraries to secure the others. In general the books recommended will be those readily accessible in most libraries or easily obtainable. For the survey of English architecture suggested in the following programs much help will be found

in H. H. Statham's "Architecture for General Readers." The Historical Sketch in this volume contains illustrations very helpful in understanding the development of English architecture. "Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture" and the "A. B. C. of Gothic Architecture," by Parker are very useful little books. George Moore's "Gothic Architecture" is a standard work for students. See also Mrs. Van Rensselaer's "Handbook of English Cathedrals" and the small books in Bell's "Cathedral Series."

FOURTH PROGRAM

Map Review of Lancastrian England showing the successive scenes of struggle throughout that stormy period and in each case the cause of this unrest.

Paper: Primitive Romanesque architecture compared with Norman-Romanesque in England. See Historical Sketch of Architecture in Baedeker's Great Britain, also Statham's "Architecture for General Readers" and other references noted above in which many illustrations will be found.

Oral Reports: Examples of the treatment of arches, piers, buttresses, windows, nave, triforium, tower, apse, capitals, etc., in Norman-Romanesque architecture in England. Each member should be assigned one of these and should look up illustrations in books or photographs of buildings referred to in Baedeker. (Magazine articles frequently contain excellent illustrations.)

Reading: Selections from Ruskin's "Seven Lamps of Architecture."

Roll-call: Definitions of architectural terms in English architecture. (See glossary in Baedeker's Great Britain.)

FIFTH PROGRAM

Oral Reports: Significant events in the reigns of the York and Tudor rulers of England (assigned to different members and called for in order).

Paper: Development of Gothic Architecture in England: 1. Early English or Lancet. 2. Decorated. 3. Perpendicular.

Discussion of examples of these styles: Each member should secure all possible illustrations. (See books recommended. Note also the buildings mentioned in Baedeker. Illustrated articles on many of these can be found in magazines and in bound volumes of architectural publications.)

Reading: Selections from "The Nature of Gothic" in Ruskin's "Stones of Venice."

Roll-call: Further review of architectural terms.

SIXTH PROGRAM

Paper: Brief sketch of Ruskin and especially his life at Brantwood (see Rawnsley's "Ruskin at the English Lakes" and his life by Collingwood).

Reading: Selection from Collingwood's "Life of Ruskin," Chapters VI and VII in Volume II, Book IV describing the diversions of Brantwood.

Roll-call: Items of interest relating to Ruskin's activities at this period of his life.

Paper: DeQuincey at Grasmere (see his "Autobiography," "Recollections of the English Lakes," and other available works.)

Reading: DeQuincey's account of meeting Wordsworth (see "Recollections of the English Lakes").

Brief Reports: On distinguished dwellers in the Lake District other than the Wordsworths, Coleridge, Southey and those above mentioned.

Church in Pachuca, Mexico, where the Chautauqua Circle Holds its Public Sessions.

The Clock which Keeps Time for the English Speaking World, Greenwich England.

NEWS FROM READERS AND CIRCLES

"Chautauqua represents the true and healthy relationship of literature and life to one another. Its students are scholars who are at the same time men and women deeply involved in the business of living."—Phillips Brooks.

As the members of the Round Table dropped into their places, a member of the new C. L. S. C. Class of 1910 looked with some curiosity at a collection of photographs which had been placed upon the table. "This is our foreign day," explained a delegate, "the one day in the year when some of our far-away members are sure to appear," and she glanced around the company to see what representatives of remote sections might be detected.

"It never seems quite fair," said Pendragon as he sorted out the photographs before him, "to refer to any part of the world as foreign in relation to our world-wide circle.

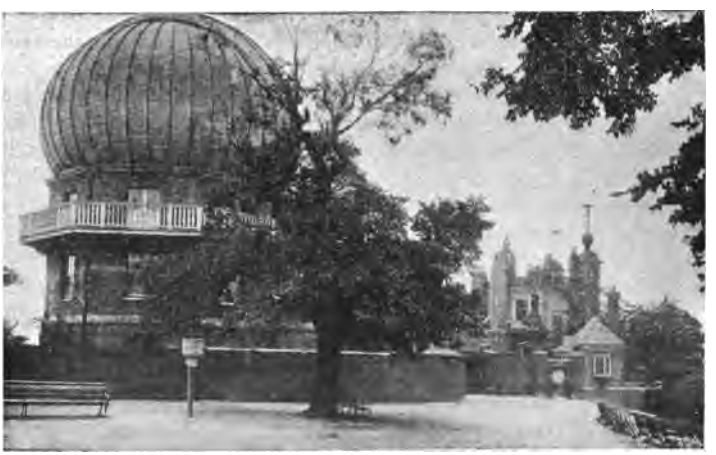
'East is west and west is East'

with us and if our studies of Imperial England do suggest now and then the clashing of nationalities, we can also remember for our encouragement that there is a latent Anglo-Saxon spirit of fair play which we may count on in the long run. I suppose," he continued. "that from a geographical point of view aside from the polar axis and the equator, the place of most importance to the English speaking people is that where time begins and ends, so a member who lives

Residence—Lewisham Hill near Greenwich, England

upon the meridian of Greenwich, England, has a special claim upon us—especially as she has shown her Chautauqua fealty by three years of work in the Class of 1907."

"My fealty dates even farther back than that," responded the member from London, Mrs. Newman, "for I've been a subscriber to



The Royal Naval Observatory, Greenwich

THE CHAUTAUQUAN for seven years. I have the good fortune to live not far from the Royal Naval Observatory, as Pendragon has mentioned. My home is the house on the right in the accompanying photograph. A new generating station has been built near the Observatory and seems to be exerting a disturbing influence which may necessitate the removal of the buildings to a more remote spot of ground. Here is the picture of the historic building and I am sure you will look upon the clock with some awe—for it is a weighty responsibility to regulate the comings and goings of some hundreds of millions of people. I am enjoying the C. L. S. C. course very much and have learned a great deal from it. I usually give about a half an hour to Chautauqua work but am sometimes too busy to do so each day. Although my children and several of my friends read the books, I work alone and wish that I had the good fortune to belong to one of the large circles you seem to have in the States. I seem to have read more serious literature in the last two years than I had ever read before. When I finish reading my half hour, I take the question book and give it the same time, reading the books through a second time. I have visited most of the places in 'Italian Cities' and used your 'Reading Journey Through Italy' as a guide book while visiting there four years ago. I was very much interested in reading the ranchman's letter in the May CHAUTAUQUAN, and hope he enjoys the course as much as I do."

Pendragon opened a letter bearing a South African postmark as he said, "We are obliged to dispense with our South African delegate today, Rev. J. J. Ross, whose letter you will remember appeared in the May CHAUTAUQUAN. This is the time for the second Chautauqua assembly at Kestell and he must be there. He has sent, however, some photographs of Harrismith in the Orange River Colony only twenty-four miles from Kestell, which will give something of the atmosphere of the region. The Dutch Church is a characteristic building and the view of Harrismith with the mountains towering behind it, even more so. The tiny white roofs of the town shown in the picture rather suggest the Israelites encamped at Gerizim! But if you look at other pictures of South African scenery, you will see that these white pointed roofs are a marked feature. Mr. Ross's news of the Dutch C. L. S. C. is most cheering. Let me read it to you:

"I am glad to say that our Dutch C. L. S. C. is still progressing. We have now circles at Heidelberg in the Transvaal and one at Johannesburg and one at Volksrust also in the Transvaal, one in the district of Harrismith, one in Kestell, two in Bethlehem besides scattered members not formed into circles at several places. There is not the least doubt that the C. L. S. C. is going to be a very important factor among the members of the Dutch Reformed Church

Dutch Church, Harrismith, Orange River Colony, South Africa

A View of Harrismith, Orange River Colony, South Africa, not far from the Dutch Chautauqua Assembly

Native Costumes as seen in Bitlis, Asiatic Turkey

Snow nearly Level with the Roofs in Bitlis, Asiatic Turkey

べし。

●韓國貿易　は昨年の如き其額殆んど四千萬圓近きに及べるも內僅かに六分の一の輸出を見たりと云ふ此其旅客の多きに拘はらず農工業未だ幼稚の域を脫せざればなり而して釜山、仁川、鎭南浦、木浦、元山、城津に入港せる船舶は二百萬噸を超過せり。

●帝國電燈會社　は今回日淸兩國人の共同資金を以て組織せられ其額二十萬圓と稱す不日點燈の運に到るべしとのこと。

○韓國砂金採集　は彼の陰山に於ける英米人の經營に成るものを以て最も有望なるものとし其收入額も已に六百萬圓已上に達せり。

●韓國淸酒の釀造場　淸酒の釀造を以て有名なる堺大塚和三郎氏の計畫に係る沿東江の水質極めて之に良好にして滿洲方面に對しての販路充分なり。

學校案內

共十二　「シヨトクワ」大學

抑も「シヨトクワ」とは何ぞや「シヨトクワ」とは北米合衆國紐育州の西端湖に位する一小湖なり其字義は同國土着の「インヂヤン」語にて「懸水」との事なれども此湖の畫人に知らるゝに到りしは蓋し汝あるなり。千八百七十四年今を距ること三十三年前此湖水の一隅をトし米國神學博士、法學博士ビショップ、ヴインセント氏の豪商ルイス、ミラ氏の補助に依り此處に於て夏期國日曜學校の連中一共に神學を研究しなるを以て始まり終に每年七、八箇月を以て此地を以て紳士淑女の群集の地となすに到れり然るに近年に及び「ビレヨツナ、ヴインセント」氏には「シヨトクワ」組合なるものを作り之が事業を左の三種に別てり。

第一を「シヨトクワ」總合所とし第二を「シヨトクワ」教育部とし第三を「シヨトクワ」大學とせり編者は已に此三種を經過し來るものにして之を本邦人に陳んと欲して今日迄未だ其機を獲ざりしものなるが本號を以て第三なる「シヨトクワ」大學を記述せんと欲す同大學は普通世間に流布せるものと其制を全然異にするものにして乃ち其主旨は通信講義に基を大學科四年を終り試驗に及第せば免狀を與へ其後は每年各種專門學を二年一年に進行するの法則なり爰に最も注意を要すべきは其生徒たるものは男女老若職業の如何を問ず入學試驗と稱せず容易に就學の途を與

Article on Chautauqua in "International Review" published in Tokyo, Japan

A Phase of Life in Jimenez, Chihuahua Co., Mexico

A Typical Street in Saltillo, Mexico

in this country. The only thing necessary is a few enthusiastic leaders who can afford to give time and energy to it. Another difficulty we have to contend with is getting suitable books. I wish that all our members could read and understand English, or that your books could be translated into Dutch. We have chosen a magazine for our members which is called *De Unie* (The Union) a monthly periodical published in connection with a teachers' association in Cape Colony."

"I've become unusually interested in Livingstone," commented a graduate reader, "as the result of our studies of Imperial England, and as you read Mr. Ross's letter I couldn't help thinking of Livingstone's indignation over the slave trade in the Transvaal and contrasting it with the Dutch Chautauqua Assembly and C. L. S. C. which express the twentieth century spirit."

Pendragon next introduced a member from Bitlis in Asiatic Turkey. "We have touched upon two continents, Europe and Africa, and it would seem now to be Asia's turn," he said, "Miss Cole has had some sorry adventures in losing her trunk containing a year's Chautauqua books and other valuables, but in spite of disabilities, she is here to report progress."

"I feel as if the Class of 1906 was still my class," explained the delegate, "though through no fault of mine I have fallen behind in my reading. This past winter and spring three out of our total foreign colony of six have been reading the Chautauqua books for this year. We met and read a portion usually every other evening. We have enjoyed both the Greek and Italian books, perhaps all the more because two of our trio have visited both those countries. The third member is a British subject and a splendid Greek scholar, so any difficult parts are made clear by a few explanations. My work is largely with the boys' orphanages and teaching in the boys' high school. Some of these boys are studying but most of them are learning trades—tailoring, shoemaking or 'mamasa' weaving, that is the native cloth used for loose gowns and blouses. The boys who study are fitted to go out and teach in the villages and so extend the enlightenment which they have received. You may be interested in these photographs one of which is that of a native woman who is in a fair way to become an American, as she is now in New York, the wife of the brother of the man who stands beside her. The other shows how we look in winter out in Bitlis. The three boys, members of our school, are standing on snow which you see has reached almost to the level of the roof of the one-story house which appears in the foreground. Winter before last we had twenty-five feet of snow but last year only eighteen! The inhabitants have never even seen a sled of our type and the deep snow makes horses quite out of the question. It is literally easier to walk along your neighbors'

roofs in many places than to clamber over the raised streets! So you see that Bitlis residents are shut in during a good deal of the winter."

"Here is a specimen of Chautauqua work from another part of Asia, which will interest you all greatly," remarked Pendragon. "I only regret that Mr. Issa Tanimura of Tokyo, the editor of the *International Review,* is not here to report in person. You will notice this page from his magazine for July, 1906, the contents of which you can guess in spite of the Japanese text. Mr. Tanimura is a graduate of the C. L. S. C. Class of '92 and his little periodical is the organ of a Japanese organization 'Shohosha' which aims 'to assist the relationship between Japan and foreign countries' in matters 'educational, financial, commercial,' etc. You see whenever we find a Chautauquan doing something a little out of the beaten track he is sure to be helping along the progress of world brotherhood. Half of his magazine is in English and half in Japanese, the latter for those who do not read English. It is no light undertaking to edit a magazine in a foreign tongue. Mr. Tanimura quaintly explains his reason for using English:

"Now-a-day, English is getting the most fashionable language in all the five parts of the world. By tracing its movement since the first decades of the Country is simply miraculous. The King of maritime spreads out His steamers which touch the harbors, through. There is no exaggeration in saying that the total number of English speaking throats should exist more than two hundred millions. To us it is phonetically difficult, though we are endeavoring our very best for its imitation. So, we adopted the English in this Journal.

"When we try to think what it would mean for one of us after a few years residence in Japan, to edit a newspaper in Japanese, we can only admire and congratulate our fellow Chautauquan upon his friendly international spirit."

"Now we must hear from the western hemisphere, but still from a citizen of Imperial England—Miss Cox of Bermuda. She is a member of the Class of 1909, the Dante Class, with all the enthusiasm of a freshman who has done a good year's work."

"The reading course was indeed fine," assented Miss Cox; "I am glad I did it. I have sent in my questions and the fee for correction, return and grading. I enjoy doing the questions. I wish I had studied my Greek Art before I visited the British Museum,—how especially interesting that book was. I found myself reading William Smith's 'History of Greece' and becoming more familiar with the great changes that took place in that empire. At present I am enjoying 'Heroes and Hero Worship.' How clearly and beautifully Carlyle has shown the origin of the respect shown to Odin and Mahomet. I am still studying Dante. Is it treacherous

that I have grown to love Petrarch in his generosity, more than our class poet? How I enjoyed Italian poetry; for two years I have told one story a week from mythology to my boys and when we came to study Greece in geography this last winter of course I gave them the story of the Trojan war. I look forward immensely to being with you again in the middle of July next year. For one thing I am going to do some work in the arts and crafts—pottery. Think of the lovely old models from Greece and Egypt!"

As Pendragon opened a letter from Mexico handed him by the Round Table courier, he said, "We have several delegates from Mexico with us but this letter is from an absent member who sends a photograph to show you something of her environment,—Mrs. Gwinn of Jimenez, Chihuahua County, who has not only been reading the regular C. L. S. C. Course but taking special Shakespeare studies besides. She says, 'Jiminez is a little Mexican town with some six or seven American families. The Americans are railroad people—with the moving habit. For this reason it is impossible to form a circle here. Words cannot express my admiration for the Chautauqua Home Course of Study, for, without it I would simply stagnate. I miss the advantages of a circle but still derive a world of good from my reading and hope to continue it as long as I live. The only library in town is the three hundred volumes that I have. I send my best greetings to the Round Table."

"I am not sure that I belong to the Round Table at all," ventured the next speaker, Mrs. Wallace of Saltillo, "for our club is not reading the Chautauqua Course just now, but we did take the course and it was to me the most interesting of all the various and sundry experiments we have made. I am in hopes that we may go back to it some day. We are trying to establish a library and with donations and the few books we have bought we now have about a hundred volumes. This little photograph of one of our chief streets really gives a very inadequate idea of our town which is up among the mountains and a delightful place in summer."

"If Mrs. Wallace will read the reports of library enterprises in the September CHAUTAUQUAN, I am sure she will feel encouraged," remarked a Southern member. "Trace back most of the achievements there recorded and she will find that they had very small beginnings."

The circle at Pachuca, Mexico, was the next to report. "We have nine members," explained the leader, Mrs. Gould, "and this photograph shows our church which is the center of interest in the English-speaking colony of Pachuca. It is here that we hold our public meetings. We have had a very interesting time with our

studies of Italian Artists, using to great advantage Mr. John C. Van Dyke's 'How to Judge a Picture' and reproductions of many famous paintings. We have no library to aid us nor can we avail ourselves of the traveling libraries but we have the Chautauqua spirit and are never discouraged."

"I must mention before we close the Round Table," said Pendragon as he ran through several letters, "that the circle at Concepcion, Chili, report that they are enthusiastic and doing good work with thirteen members. We shall have fuller reports later. Now you must have a word from a Norwegian teacher, Mr. Olav Madshus in whose letters you have all been so much interested. We are glad to welcome him to the Round Table."

"I regretted so much," rejoined the member from Norway, "that the hope that I cherished of coming to Chautauqua in 1906 had to be given up. I have had to make use of the provision that hard-pressed students may be given a brief extension of time beyond October 1. Last year we had a stirring time of it here in Norway. To speak the truth, we were on the verge of a war. I myself was called to the frontier, being garrisoned in the old fortress of Kongsninger. After returning from there, I had to lay the last hand on some literary work—which, by the bye, was to procure me money for my Chautauqua trip. And even before the printing of that work was done, 'The Blue Ribbon' of which I am a member, asked me to gather some temperance tales for children. That mandate I have discharged only just now, and therefore you will readily understand why I have not been able to set about my duties as a Chautauquan till now. If all this is a good reason for allowing me an extension of time—till say 'Gunpowder Plot' I don't despair of finishing the work till then. I mean to write some lines to the 'Norse School Weekly' and tell my fellow-teachers of Chautauqua once more."

As the speaker resumed his seat a member in the rear was observed looking up the date of the 'Gunpowder Plot.' "You'd better give us all the benefit of your researches," laughed Pendragon, and November 5 was promptly jotted down in sundry note-books.

"I want to read you in closing," said Pendragon, "a bit of experience from a young Swiss girl, a dressmaker, into whose life our Chancellor brought Chautauqua a year or two ago. One gets a new idea of Chautauqua's power when we realize how it can adapt itself to all nationalities and conditions. The letter is dated Zurich. Switzerland:

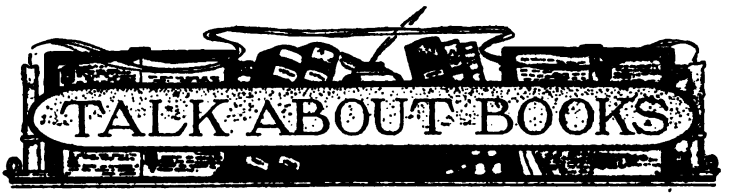
"'Many a time my thoughts were wandering to Chautauqua and in my dreams I was listening to all the teachers that there would speak and preach and teach. I know that there are many people who do not like to see young people out of college studying, learning, reading, and so getting larger horizons and worthier views of life. Nevertheless I am closely associated with your Chautauqua

ideas. They fill, beautify and enrich my life. I have a Chautauqua in my own room—a large book-shelf with many interesting books, and pictures on the walls and I have books and envelopes in which to keep pictures of great men and women as well as little essays and sentences written by great authors.'

"I wonder," said Pendragon, as he folded up the letter, "if there are not a good many people nearer to us than Switzerland who might get 'larger horizons' from Chautauqua, if we should find them out, and if there are not others in far-away lands who also need our help. How many of the churches in which you are interested send THE CHAUTAUQUAN to their missionaries in the home and foreign field? Why not send a set of Chautauqua books in every missionary box? We must make our enthusiasm yield practical results. You remember what an Englishman once said of Coleridge, 'he talks very much like an angel and does nothing at all.'"

ANSWERS TO SEARCH QUESTIONS

1. William Pitt, the first Earl of Chatham, was a celebrated English statesman who was prime minister in fact long before he obtained that office in name in 1766. His vigorous foreign policy gave England much prestige. 2. The War of the Austrian Succession between England and Austria on the one hand and France, Bavaria, Prussia, Spain, and Sardinia on the other, broke out on the succession of Maria Theresa to the Austrian lands. The coalition against her was one of conquest. The war ended with the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. 3. Austria ceded Parma, Piacenza and Guastella to Spain; Silesia was confirmed to Prussia. Restitution was made of all other conquests and the Pragmatic Sanction was confirmed in Austria. 4. Warren Hastings, born 1732, died 1818. Went to India in service of East India Co. in 1750. Became Governor of Bengal in 1772 and the first Governor-General of India in 1774. Returned to England in 1785; was impeached in 1787 and acquitted in 1795. 5. The area of Australia is 2,972,906 square miles. Its population in 1901 was 3,771,715. 6. John Wilkes, an English politician, born in 1727. In 1763, for attacking George III in an article written for the "North Briton," he was imprisoned. He was later expelled from Parliament and several times upon reëlection was declared ineligible. He became Lord Mayor of London in 1774 and was allowed to take his seat in Parliament where he remained until 1790. "Junius" was the pseudonym of the author of a series of letters written from 1768-1772 directed against the British ministry. The author was probably Sir Philip Francis. 7. 1770-1782. 8. Francis Xavier, clebrated Spanish Jesuit missionary who labored in India and Japan. Jean de Brébeuf, a noted French Jesuit missionary among the Huron Indians in Canada. Saint Boniface, born in Devonshire, and labored as a missionary in Germany where he was murdered in 755. 9. William Wilberforce, an English philanthropist and opponent of the slave trade, which was abolished largely through his efforts. 10. Victoria Falls: height 360 feet, width about 3,000 feet; Niagara Falls: 164-150 feet in height, width at brink of falls, 4,750 feet.



LEGAL TENDER. By (Miss) S. P. Breckenridge. pp. 177. Appendix and bibliography. University of Chicago Press. 1903.

This is easily the most thorough and valuable monograph on the subject of legal tender in English and American legal and constitutional history. Miss Breckenridge proposes and answers these questions: What organ of the state has exercised the power of bestowing upon money the quality of being a legal tender? With respect to what forms of money or substitutes for it has the power been exercised? What have been the reasons for such exercise? The several restrictions of the field of discussion to purely legal and constitutional questions by no means rob the book of value as a contribution to economics but if anything, increase it by providing a dispassionate and extraordinarily clear as well as thorough discussion of the historic background of this important problem.

A GENERAL HISTORY OF COMMERCE. By William Clarence Webster, Ph. D. pp. 526 and maps (19). Ginn & Co. 1903.

Mr. Webster divides his book into five parts—ancient, mediaeval, and early modern commerce getting each a division; and the period since the Industrial Revolution being divided into the Age of Steam and the Age of Electricity. Properly enough the last two parts occupy about one-half of the book, and the United States the major portion of these pages. The author is Lecturer on Economic History in New York University, and his book is the book of an experienced teacher. The maps are simple and usable. Lists of books for collateral reading follow each chapter. The style is direct and the main points in the history of commerce are emphasized not uninterestingly. The book will be useful either as a text or as collateral reading for high school or college students.

THE THEORY OF PROSPERITY. By Simon N. Patten, Ph. D., Professor of Political Economy University of Pennsylvania. pp. 237. New York: The Macmillan Co.

Professor Patten is perhaps the most individual of American economists and certainly one of the most suggestive. In this book the subject of distribution is approached in a thoroughly novel and stimulating fashion. Professor Patten divides his discussion into two parts: Income as determined by existing conditions, and Income as determined by heredity. The first half is pretty pure economics and although novel in its presentation not much out of line with modern discussion. The second half is what for want of a better name must

be called sociology—immensely interesting and provocative of thought but insufficiently formulated to be classed with the first part as economic theory.

TRANSITIONAL ERA IN THOUGHT. By A. C. Armstrong, Ph. D., Professor of Philosophy in Wesleyan University. 8 vo. pp. 347. New York: Macmillan Co.

Professor Armstrong has attempted to analyze the condition of Western thought and culture at the beginning of the twentieth century with the purpose of showing its tendencies toward a reliance on what he calls the instincts of the heart to furnish a clue to the riddle of life and a basis for religion and morals. His book is by no means merely an argument for a return to faith but the trend of his reflections seems to be in this direction and his fundamental analogies, drawn from the history of Greek thought as compared with western European speculation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, lead him to conclude that the course of twentieth century philosophy will be, even more marked than was that of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, to develop a permanent ethics on the basis of the emotions and the will. The book is difficult but by no means uninteresting even to the reader untrained in philosophy.

THE SKIPPER PARSON. James Lumsden. pp. 212. 8x5½. $1.25. New York: Eaton & Mains.

In "The Skipper Parson," the author, who twenty years ago spent about nine years upon the Island of Newfoundland as a Methodist Missionary, tells the story of his ministry and relates much of interest concerning the character of the island and the habits, customs, and life of the people. One gets also a good account of the work of a missionary among an honest and simple minded people. The book has no great literary value but will probably have a local interest.

A LITTLE BROTHER TO THE BEAR. William J. Long. pp. 178. 50 c. Boston: Ginn & Co.

This little book adds one more to the study of animal life which children of the present day, and some who are not children also, have the good fortune to possess. It would seem as if this sort of training for young people ought to train up a race of men and women who would come near realizing in themselves the notion of brotherhood toward the wood creatures. Mr. Long writes charmingly and this, his fifth volume in the "Wood Folk Series" deserves the welcome which it is bound to receive. F. K.

THE WRITINGS OF SAINT FRANCIS OF ASSISI. Father Paschal Robinson. pp. 208. 4¾x7¼. $1.00 net leather. Philadelphia: The Dolphin Press. 1906.

This is an artistic and beautiful little book, of light hand made paper with a dainty flexible leather binding. Father Robinson has made a careful translation from the Latin of the works of this noted saint.

In his introduction he considers the questions of authenticity, dates of composition, and style, and gives a detailed description of the ancient manuscripts. There is also an appendix giving a list of the lost, doubtful and spurious writings, and a careful bibliography and index. This work will possess more value for the Catholic than the Protestant and yet it contains expressions of religious life and emotion that will appeal to the pious soul of every age and sect.

News Summary

DOMESTIC

September 3.—Fourteenth annual session of the irrigation congress opens at Boise, Idaho. On Long Island Sound President Roosevelt reviews greatest fleet of American war vessels ever gathered together.

4.—Governor Davidson of Wisconsin wins renomination despite opposition of Senator La Follette.

10.—Republicans win in State and Congressional elections in Maine, but by pluralities greatly reduced from those of last elections.

11.—An American cruiser is ordered to Havana.

13.—Marines are landed at Havana, but are recalled under orders from Washington; a small guard is left at the American legation.

14.—President Roosevelt sends ultimatum to Cubans giving them the choice of peace or intervention. Secretary Taft and Assistant-Secretary Bacon are ordered to Havana.

18.—Secretaries Taft and Bacon arrive in Cuba; hostilities continue.

27.—President Palma resigns, but his resignation is rejected.

28.—American marines are landed at Havana. President Palma refuses to withdraw his resignation.

29.—American troops are ordered to Cuba; Secretary Taft in proclamation assumes charge of Cuban Government on behalf of the United States. T. P. O'Connor, noted Irish leader and member of Parliament, visits the United States.

30.—Several hundred marines are landed at Havana; Secretary Taft assumes active control of the Cuban Government.

FOREIGN

September 6.—Cuban forces are put to rout by insurgents.

8.—Francis Xavier Wernz, a German, is elected general of the Jesuits. Crew of Cambridge University defeat Harvard Crew in boat race on the Thames.

9.—Massacres are reported at Siedlce, Russian Poland.

10.—Massacres in Poland continue.

18.—Typhoon sweeps Hong Kong and wrecks many ships.

OBITUARY

September 1.—Herman Oelrichs, prominent business man and famous athlete.

15.—General Trepoff, the notorious Russian reactionary.

16.—Aaron T. Bliss, former governor of Michigan.

20.—Congressman Robert R. Hitt of Illinois.

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